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Labour defence line worries US

AS the political conference season continued in Britain it became clear that defence would be one of the main issues at the next general election — and that both the Liberal and Social Democratic Alliance and the Labour Party would have great difficulty in getting their respective acts together to make a credible case to put before voters. Labour is committed to unilateral nuclear disarmament, but in a television interview on Monday, the day the Labour conference opened in Blackpool, Mr Denis Healey, the shadow foreign secretary, indicated that if the rest of Nato wanted it he would not rule out absolutely retention of American nuclear weapons in Britain. The party leader, Mr Neil Kinnock, in the same programme emphasised his commitment to a non-nuclear Britain but also stressed the need to strengthen conventional defences.

Against the advice of the Liberal leadership, Liberals voted at their assembly for a non-nuclear defence for Britain, which puts them at odds with the other half of the Alliance, the SDP, who voted at their conference to continue the nuclear commitment. The Conservative Party conference has yet to take place.

The American Defence Secretary, Mr Caspar Weinberger, is worried by the Labour attitude. "I think that it would be taking quite a chance with the people's liberty and freedoms and the independence of Britain and the future of Europe if, for an independent nuclear deterrent that does play a major role in keeping the peace, you substitute what was called in world war one, and later in world war two under similar circumstances, a piece of paper." Dismantling Britain's deterrent and removal of American nuclear weapons would be "an invitation to attack".

The summit back on course

By Hella Pick

PRESIDENT REAGAN can now safely look forward to a fireside chat with Mikhail Gorbachev in the Oval Room of the White House: Nicholas Daniloff's departure from Moscow means that a pre-Christmas superpower summit has become a virtual certainty.

But the end of the Daniloff affair has done more than lift a heavy pall over US-Soviet relations: it may well turn out to have cleared the air in a way that will make it easier, in future, for the two superpowers to tackle the immensely complex agenda that will continue to confront them far beyond the next summit.

Certainly Nicholas Daniloff's release must be interpreted as confirmation that both superpowers now believe that the log-jam in arms control negotiations has been broken, and that enough progress has been made on intermediate nuclear weapons negotiations — perhaps also on other aspects of the nuclear arms race — to use the summit as an essential marker towards new treaties designed to reduce the balance of terror between East and West.

With this glimpse of the future, the US Secretary of State, George Shultz, set to work with the Soviet Foreign Minister, Eduard Shevardnadze, to solve the Daniloff case. They were able to set aside the formality of their occasional, carefully organised meetings, and to see each other in New York this past week on an almost daily basis. They were able, it seems, to find a formula that would satisfy honour on both sides.

It may turn out that Daniloff's anguish in Moscow will not have been in vain, and that the price that Moscow is willing to pay for extracting Gennady Zakharov, the Russian now in US custody, includes freedom for at least some prominent Soviet dissidents.

Mr Gorbachev must have been closely involved in the solution that has now been found. But it may never be known whether Mr Gorbachev was consulted by the KGB before they swooped on Daniloff a month ago on the Lenin Hills moments after an acquaintance had handed him an envelope containing maps marked "secret".

President Reagan, then still holidaying in California, did not apparently spot immediately that Daniloff's arrest would provoke a passionate outcry against Soviet "hostage-taking". Incautiously, he let it be known that he would consider a straight Daniloff-Zakharov trade-off.

The Russians delayed their reply. President Reagan's political antennae came forward. He realised that his domestic backyard was demanding toughness, not appeasement, and that the anti-summiteers and anti-arms controllers had found in Daniloff a wonderful justification for their cause. The Kremlin, too, appears to have understood that the Daniloff affair had become a smoking gun. All the evidence points to the assumption that Mr Gorbachev then insisted on a damage-limitation operation. And at the end of the day, and in spite of the explusion of 25 Soviet officials at the UN, both sides decided enough was enough.

Party in need of a convincing salesman

THE PARTY POLICIES	POLARIS	TRIDENT	CRUISE	US BASES	NATO	ARMS CONTROL
ALLIANCE	Still in two minds	Cancel	Limit deployment under "dual key"	Maintain under closer control	Strengthen the European pillar	Promote test moratorium and weapons-free zone
CONSERVATIVE	Phase out for Trident	Continue to deployment	Continue Nato deployment plan	Maintain under present rules	Support status quo	Seek multilateral cuts while continuing tests
LABOUR	Decommission unconditionally	Cancel	Remove from UK	Maintain without nuclear weapons	Promote new non-nuclear strategy	Stop testing and work for European weapons-free zone

By David Fairhall

IF ever anything called for a pre-emptive strike, it is the Labour Party's campaign to sell its radical, non-nuclear defence policy to the United States and the other Nato allies who would have to live with it.

A *paradox of the current party* political debates on defence is that while the Liberal-SDP Alliance writhes in agony over just one aspect of its policy — how to make up its mind on a replacement for the Polaris submarine missile force — Labour acts as if its own much more drastic proposals could be carried through with no more than a polite exchange of diplomatic notes between London, Washington and Brussels.

"Dear Pentagon, You may have noticed that we have had had a change of government here in London. Would you be kind enough to remove all your nuclear weapons from British territory by the end of next month. Hoping this does not disrupt any of your other *Nato plans, Yours sincerely* . . ."

This week's television appearance by the US Defence Secretary, Mr Caspar Weinberger, and his assistant, Mr Richard Perle, shows how misguided such a complacent attitude would be. Their respective comments are that Labour's policy would be likely to lead to the break up of Nato and is in any case wildly irresponsible.

But if this is the sort of language they are using publicly now, at the mere prospect of a non-nuclear Britain, imagine what they would say and do behind the scenes if the prospect became an immediate reality. *The sort of bullying that* went on over New Zealand's decision not to receive nuclear warships would be as nothing to the diplomatic rough house that would break out if the United States' direct superpower relationship with the USSR and its leadership of a nuclear-based Nato were suddenly threatened by a discordant British voice.

One of the crucial features of Labour's nuclear policy by comparison with the Alliance's is that it proposes the total rejection not only of domestic systems like Polaris, but a Nato programme like the US cruise missiles at Greenham Common, in which the Americans have invested a great deal of political capital and which *directly impinge on their* arms control relationship with the Soviet Union.

Not that Labour's policy is necessarily unworkable. On the contrary, one can already see ways through the Nato minefield if only the ground has been carefully surveyed beforehand. But that is an enormous "if".

In its statement on Defence and Security in Britain, the national executive talks confidently about using the key British postings in Nato to work for change, rather than opting out as the French did. That's all right provided you *realise that the other two key* members of the Alliance, the Americans and the Germans, may not be interested in working with a government that does not share their basic policy objectives.

Even the Alliance's relatively modest proposals for nuclear change are more than enough for one Parliamentary lifetime — and that with a solid majority. Cancelling Trident should be no great hassle (and that, of course, goes for Labour too). Putting Greenham Common's cruise missiles under "dual key" control would be awkward, but not something the Americans could easily object to in principle, since they would certainly do the same if roles were reversed.

Creating some sort of "minimum European deterrent" with the French to replace Polaris — if that's the way the Alliance policy debate works out — raises all sorts of problems, but if necessary the initiative could quietly be abandoned. A nuclear-free zone in West Germany could be unilaterally created by handing back Rhine Army's nuclear artillery to the Americans.

None of these policies probe Nato's raw nerves in the way that Labour's do, and at least they are the result of long, careful, study and debate — prompted as much *as anything by the need to create* an Alliance. By contrast, Labour seems to think that provided its hurriedly assembled non-nuclear policy can be simply expressed, it must be equally simple to implement. In fact it cries out for more subtle, extended presentation, both domestically and internationally. Take, for instance, the question of US nuclear weapons in this country.

There are several current precedents for the Americans producing weapons for possible use in Europe which are stockpiled in the United States and could only be transferred across the Atlantic in a crisis subject to consultation. Neutron bombs and binary nerve gas munitions both fall into this cate*gory* and the bombs on US Air Force F-111 bases at Lakenheath and Upper Heyford could be added to it if the issue was properly handled. The Poseidon submarine base at Holy Loch could be removed on the practical grounds that the much greater range of the Trident system makes it redundant. Cancellation of our own Trident programme could be sold on the basis that cuts in conventional defence would otherwise be necessary. None of this need be represented as a crude policy of "Yanks go home".

Cruise missiles could be more difficult, but the prospect of an arms control deal that makes the second base at Molesworth unnecessary obviously helps *(see page 7)*. If Labour is not satisfied with the Alliance's "dual key" veto, the diplomatic key here is to remember that this is a Nato programme, not an American one, even though the Tomahawk missiles are US-built. Any change should be negotiated through Nato channels.

There is only one man in the Labour leadership fully qualified to do the selling job Labour's policy so desperately needs, and that is Denis Healey. His response to hearing that Mr Perle thought it "wildly irresponsible" was to describe the US official as "a middle-ranking pipsqueak". The former Labour defence and foreign secretary is as tactless as ever, but he has the intellectual standing, background and contacts to prepare American and European opinion for Labour's bombshell. Mr Kinnock might do well to cancel his own forthcoming US tour and send Mr Healey instead.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

Understanding terrorism

Unfortunately, recent terrorist outrages have once more attracted the public eye on this cancer of our time which is terrorism. One sad thing about terrorism is that an emotional and partisan approach to this problem in the West prevents anything constructive from being done about it. The most common clichés about terrorism are that:

1. Terrorism is a recent phenomenon. Although its international character was made possible by modern means of communication (especially the media coverage) and its devastating effects are due to new means of destruction (powerful bombs, etc) terrorism as such has always existed. For instance, the word "guerrilla" was introduced in the French language when French occupation forces were confronted with the Spanish popular uprising against the Napoleonic Empire.

2. Terrorism is a one-way phenomenon: i.e. armed militants versus the State apparatus, ordinary citizens being the victims most of the time. Actually, it is a vicious circle. To confront terrorism, States become increasingly repressive themselves. In some cases, it is the State which terrorizes the civilian population for political (Chile) or racial (South Africa) reasons. It may be one government which sponsors terrorist operations against another (see the US support to the "Contra" in Central America). History has also witnessed (successful) terrorists becoming heads of State, such as F. Castro or M. Begin.

Terrorism is a vague word and it is only one side of the coin. Playing with words is what makes it confusing: the "Resistance" fighters in World War II France were merely "saboteurs" from the Nazi viewpoint . . .

3. Terrorism is a strictly criminal activity and only technical solutions (surveillance of the population, repression at all levels, etc) are usually considered to solve the problem. This is a gross mistake in that it is only directed against the violent manifestations of terrorism — not the roots of the phenomenon. Terrorism can become an alibi to the constant reinforcement of the State apparatus. Repression does not solve the problem: it makes terrorism bearable by containing it, thus rendering the quest for suitable political solutions superflous. Northern Ireland is a good example of such a deadlock.

4. Terrorism is an alien threat against our "Free World": Third World fanatics aimed and abetted by Communist plotters! To a certain extent, terrorism is indeed the poor man's weapon in the confrontation of the Third World against the wealthy West: a reaction of despair from people nobody listens to, which can evolve into a gratuitous murderous frenzy. Nevertheless, terrorism is not only an "external" threat to the West: Baader-Meinhof were German citizens, weren't they? Besides, it is simplistic to seek a scapegoat as soon as a bomb explodes somewhere. Gunboat diplomacy is a 19th century form of terrorism the USA has chosen to meet the challenges of a complex 20th century crisis affecting the Middle-East.

Generally speaking, terrorism cannot be legitimate and terrorists do deserve severe punishments. Nevertheless, before choosing blind repression as the illusion of a solution, let's try to understand why terrorism is prospering at all, then determine intelligent and effective ways of coping with it.

Mr Philippe Jolly,
I bis rue Louis Blanc,
92190-Meudon,
France.

Bhopal — the tragedy two years on

The second anniversary of the Bhopal industrial disaster is rapidly approaching. Yet very little of a concrete nature has been done to help the 200,000 or so victims. They will have to await the outcome of legal proceedings. These are expected to take no less than 15 years, which, based on the average life expectancy figures for the Bhopal area, will mean that a large number of the victims will have died of natural causes by then. In any case, legal fees and court costs are expected to swallow most of any eventual settlement.

Accepting that with the inevitability of an unfolding Greek tragedy the main characters in this drama must proceed through the courts — the Indian government because its entire industrialisation programme is under fire and Union Carbide because legal prudence demands it — we would propose that an additional, positive, step be taken to help the victims in a timely manner. This could easily be effected in time for the December anniversary.

Let Union Carbide be the first to contribute an appropriate amount to a Bhopal Development Fund administered by a trustee group consisting of eminent Indian personalities and let the Indian government be invited to match this contribution. The trustees could then call in an international consultancy team, who in close contact with victims and local government would draw up a Bhopal Development Plan based on Mahatma Gandhian self-help principles.

Such an initiative would refocus attention on the voiceless victims, would stop them from being used as purely pawns in the inevitable power games being played around the disaster and would provide a first opportunity for all parties now involved (on last count, around 50) to collaborate constructively to the immediate benefit of the victims (without any party having to shift from positions taken in the other, the legal, arena), and would offer all parties a chance to demonstrate the genuineness of their humanitarian concerns.

The envisaged Self-help Development Scheme could well become a model for future assistance in similar disaster situations and, who knows, might provide the face-saving escape vehicle for an eventual out-of-court settlement when in two to three years' time the court proceedings will have ground to an inevitable halt in this most complex of legal cases.

Peter B. Rae,
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5 Clorane Gardens,
London NW3.

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Veterans' fast for life

Every day since September 1, two US Veterans have been on the steps of the US Capitol, fasting and meeting congressmen and citizens. They are doing this out of their sense of outrage and betrayal at what their government is doing in Nicaragua and other Central American countries.

Since September 15, two other Veterans have joined this "fast for life" in front of the United Nations' Building in New York.

Their leader, Charles Liteky (55) is no ordinary service man. He holds the highest US award for bravery, the Congressional Medal of Honour, for repeatedly risking his life to save twenty wounded US soldiers during a battle in the Vietnam War. He was at that time a Roman Catholic US Army Chaplain. The other three men are: George Mizo (40), Trenton, New Jersey, US Army (Vietnam); Brian Willson (45), Vermont, US Airforce (Vietnam); Duncan Murphy (66), US Army Ambulance Corps (World War II).

Only the public broadcasting system has reported on the fast in the United States. The commercial media are ignoring it so far.

C. G. Gifford, DFC,
National Chairman,
(Canadian) Veterans
Against Nuclear Arms,
Halifax, Nova Scotia.

Why safety must come first on the flight deck

Your report (Sept 28) on the inquest into the Manchester air disaster leaves an uneasy feeling that British Airways may be concentrating more on presentation than on policies in response to the lessons of the incident.

For instance, fitting flame resistant seat covers is obviously sensible, but how long will it take to equip the whole BA fleet in this way, and what, if anything, is going to be done about the seat filling materials?

The US Federal Aviation Authority has ordered manufacturers and airlines to use safer materials for cabin walls. Will this order be accepted by BA in the UK? Will it involve modifications to existing aircraft?

Support is now being given in principle to the introduction of smoke hoods for all passengers. But the discussions about specifications could drag on for years. On every flight the passengers are subjected to the meaningless ritual of the lifejacket demonstration. How many billions of miles have these jackets travelled in the last 20 years, and when, if ever, have they been used to save lives?

Meanwhile, the far more important risk of fire is largely ignored. Maybe, the airlines didn't want to disturb us too much by even mentioning this terrifying subject. But now we have all seen and heard in graphic detail precisely what is involved in an aircraft fire, and want some action. What about setting a deadline for a decision on this?

Finally, the Manchester disaster emphasised the need for a substantial redundancy margin in the provision of safety exits. Some seats are to be removed from 737s as a result. But it was less than two years ago that BA blocked up two of the safety exits on their 747 jumbo jets, flying in the face of the opinion of some safety experts and contrary to the policies of many of the world's other leading airlines. Will BA now reverse this policy decision as well? I, for one, will be reluctant to fly BA again until they do.

(Dr) G. D. W. Smith,
Eynsham, Oxford.

What the US Constitution says about bearing arms

Your man in Washington, Michael White, has been conned by the gun mob. ("Liberty and the pursuit of goodness" Sept 7). For the individual citizen there is no constitutional right "to bear arms" in the United States.

As Michael White indicates, the notion that individual Americans have the right to maintain a private arsenal is based on the Second Amendment to the United States Constitution. That Amendment states that "A well regulated militia being necessary to the security of a free State, the right of the people to bear arms shall not be infringed." This is the amendment in its entirety.

At the time that the American Constitution was being considered there were grave fears that the national government would, one way or another, abolish the State militias and leave the States at the mercy of a national standing army. To allay this fear, the Second Amendment was presented to the States for ratification by the first session of the first Congress, and was quickly ratified by the States, coming into effect in 1791.

The United States Supreme Court has held, in the few cases on the issue that have ever reached the Supreme Court, that there is no Constitutional right to bear arms privately. (Presser vs Illinois 116 US 252 [1886], United States vs Miller, 307 US 174 [1939].)

It is not the Constitution, but, as Michael Miller notes, the potent lobbying of the National Rifle Association that keeps reasonable gun control legislation off the books in the United States.

Robert O. Byrd,
Oxford Street,
Richmond Hill, Ontario,
Canada.

Regarding Michael White's insensitive "post haste" comment on the Oklahoma post office massacre (Liberty and the pursuit of goodness, Sept 7) would the Guardian describe a similar shooting by a deranged newspaperman as "accurate for once?"

Bart Mills,
Manhattan Beach,
California 90266.

Bomb error

Michael White's article (US finally admits H bomb error, Sept 7) contains a factual error and a comparison of suspicious intent and dubious nature. Firstly, ten megatons is equivalent to 10 million tons, not one million, of TNT. Second, the phrase "70 Hiroshimas or 25 Chernobyls" is rather stupid. Is he suggesting that the Chernobyl explosion had the force of more than two of the type of bomb dropped on Hiroshima? Clearly ridiculous. Is he inferring by association that the explosion at Chernobyl was a nuclear one? Not true. Is he trying to establish in our minds the equivalence of nuclear bombs and nuclear power stations? Quite possibly.

L. Poltawski,
St Anthonys,
Masvingo,
Zimbabwe.

The divided Basque country

Michael Dobbs's article on the Basque Country, (Washington Post Section, Sept 7) was accompanied by a map which ignores one of the most controversial issues in the Basque problem. This map represented what is known as "Euskal Herria" which can be roughly translated as the Homeland of the Basque People. It didn't though, show the political line which divides the Spanish part of this area into two separate regions. Euskal, the autonomous Basque area and the ancient kingdom of Navarre.

Society in Navarre is deeply divided as to whether the province should become part of the autonomous Basque region, a division which here is even likened rather unrealistically, to the Protestant/Catholic divide in Northern Ireland. The present situation is characterised by strong efforts from the Socialists and rightwing parties to woo public opinion away from unity with the Basque region, probably because an independent Basque country would be much more viable with Navarre's important agricultural wealth.

Nigel Bowles,
Pamplona,
Navarre,
Spain.

Defence problems plague both Alliance and Labour

THE Labour Party had hoped that its annual conference in Blackpool this week would be a relatively uncontentious affair and that its unilateralist defence policy could be kept in the background. But the US Defence Secretary, Mr Caspar Weinberger, put paid to that hope with a widely-publicised TV broadcast in which he predicted that Labour's commitment to evict American nuclear bases would threaten the cohesion of the 16-nation Nato alliance.

The party leader, Mr Neil Kinnock, had no choice but to reply. Perhaps mindful of employment prospects around the US installations, he explained that Labour would not close American bases capable of being used by nuclear-armed aircraft and missiles, but only those which had stockpiles of nuclear weapons. Nor would Labour accept the protection of a US nuclear umbrella. "I think it would be immoral do so," he said.

Mr Kinnock knows full well that he will have the problem of trying to convince a sceptical electorate, which rejected Labour unilateralism at the last election, that his party will provide the country with an effective defence. It is a problem he will now share with the Liberals who, at their conference last week, threw their Alliance with the Social Democrats into disarray by voting — albeit narrowly — for a policy stipulating that Britain should develop a non-nuclear defence contribution to Nato.

This decision, taken against the advice of the party leader, Mr David Steel, and most Liberal MPs, would appear to preclude the possibility of an Anglo-French replacement for the Polaris nuclear deterrent system when it becomes obsolete in the mid-1990s. Since the SDP leader, Dr David Owen, has a cast-iron commitment to develop such a replacement, the Alliance is now in disarray on a subject which, its leaders agree, is electorally explosive.

Mr Steel, who delivered his party a stern lecture on its electoral folly, really had only himself to blame for the mess. His sudden conversion — as recently as last month — to the notion of Anglo-French bomb was seen as a humiliating attempt to placate the inflexible Dr Owen, who is thought by many grassroots Liberals to be far too big for his boots anyway. Until it was overridden by Dr Owen, the Alliance took the view,

THE WEEK IN BRITAIN
by James Lewis

around which both parties were able to unite, that there was no need to take any binding decisions about Polaris until the early 1990s, by which time the international arms situation could look quite different.

One of the better things to happen to the Opposition parties has been the appointment of Mrs Edwina Curry as Health Minister. Brusquely dismissing the evidence, now widely accepted by the medical profession, of causal links between poverty and ill-health, she told an audience in the North of England that their relatively poor health was due in part to their own ignorance compared with the more enlightened South.

The North spent too much money on chips and potato crisps, she scolded. "We have problems here of high smoking and alcoholism. Some of these problems are things we can tackle by impressing on people the need to look after themselves better. That is something which is taken more seriously down South. There is no reason why it cannot be taken seriously up here." She had nothing to say about the findings of a Bristol University study, published the same day, that the region's figures for premature death, permanent sickness and low birth-weight were related to its mass unemployment, poor housing and record poverty.

The public flotation of the Trustee Savings Bank was oversubscribed eight times. Some five million applicants applied for shares worth £1.5 billion, which means that at least two million of the applicants will receive nothing, and many others will receive fewer shares than they had asked for. Building societies reported heavy withdrawals by investors who thought that the bank shares were a better proposition.

The Government's scope for stimulating the economy — a course urged by the Reagan administration — was severely limited by a record current account deficit in August of £886 million. On this occasion, little of the deterioration could be attributed to falling oil prices; the reason was, quite simply, the continuing increase in imports and an even greater decrease in visible exports.

The weakness of sterling, particularly against the German mark, caused a slump in share prices and the Financial Times 30-share index fell on Monday by 21 points to 1,212, which is the lowest for seven months. Though the Bank of England intervened in the foreign exchanges, the City clearly believed than a rise in interest rates is now seriously on the cards.

Three directors lost their jobs when Rover, the state-owned car and truck firm, showed a loss of £204 million for the first half of this year. This compares with a deficit of £44.8 million for the comparable period of last year. One of those dismissed was the car division's long-serving chairman and chief executive, Mr Harold Musgrove, who incurred Mrs Thatcher's displeasure when he opposed the Tory plan to sell Austin Rover to Ford of America earlier this year.

The Ministry of Defence announced that a third of the 18,000 jobs at Britain's two remaining naval dockyards — at Devonport (Plymouth) and Rosyth (Fife) — are likely to be lost over the next eight years. The news provoked one-day strikes at the yards, both of which are due to be handed over to private management next year. The Government insisted that the planned workforce reductions reflected the lower level of maintenance required on Britain's modern defence fleet and, above all, on new competitive tendering policies which meant that more work was being carried out by private shipyards.

Healey hints at keeping US missiles

By James Naughtie

MR DENIS HEALEY reopened one of Labour's bitter defence arguments on Monday when he raised the possibility that a Labour government might allow American nuclear weapons to stay in Britain.

The shadow foreign secretary said he thought it highly unlikely that an alternative would be found to removal — which is now party policy — but he refused to rule it out. His remarks, made in an interview on Panorama on BBC television, are certain to provoke an outburst on the left, where Mr Healey's commitment to closure of American nuclear bases on British soil has always been doubted.

Against the background of attacks by the Reagan Administration on Labour's policy, his interview will be used by some of his opponents as evidence that he is susceptible to pressure from Washington.

Mr Healey denies such charges vigorously. On Monday at a fringe meeting at the Labour Party conference, he forthrightly attacked Mr Caspar Weinberger, US Defence Secretary, and his assistant, Mr Richard Perle, for their remarks criticising Labour policy.

His Panorama interview came during a programme which included Mr Weinberger's heavily leaked comments on Labour's policy. Mr Healey was asked whether it was possible that the Americans could persuade a Labour government to allow them to keep nuclear weapons in Britain.

He replied: "I don't think the Americans could persuade us, but I think that if we take the alliance seriously we have to listen to what our allies feel as a whole." Asked by his interviewer, "So we could end up keeping America's weapons here if that is what the alliance wanted?" he replied: "I doubt it, but it's not inconceivable."

With the party fully committed to a non-nuclear defence policy and to removing all American nuclear weapons — a policy reaffirmed by Mr Neil Kinnock, the party leader, at the weekend — Mr Healey's comments are embarrassing and will cause trouble for Mr Kinnock among some of his opponents on the left.

Mr Kinnock himself was emphatic in the same programme about his commitment to a non-nuclear Britain, but also to strengthening conventional defence. Speaking with obvious emotion, he said that if he were a soldier he would be prepared to die for his family or his country. But he would never be prepared to wipe out humanity in a nuclear war.

Mr Kinnock and Mr Healey are visiting the US in the next few months — Mr Kinnock twice — and one of their principal aims will be to try to convince senior officials in the Administration that they would seek, in government, a new stable relationship with the US despite the party's determination to create a non-nuclear Britain.

Senior officials from the US embassy in London are in Blackpool at the conference. Mr Weinberger's remarks are said to have caused some embarrassment in London, despite the frankness with which embassy officials have spoken to Labour leaders in private about their attitude to the party's defence policy.

On Panorama, Mr Weinberger said that he was worried by the non-nuclear commitment. "I think that it would be taking quite a chance with the people's liberty and freedoms and the independence of Britain and the future of Europe, if for an independent nuclear deterrent that does play a major role in keeping the peace, you substitute what was called in world war one, and later in world war two under similar circumstances, a piece of paper."

He went on to claim that dismantling Britain's deterrent and removal of American nuclear weapons would be "an invitation to attack."

At his fringe meeting Mr Healey was scathing about the Weinberger view, accusing the US Administration of colluding with Mrs Thatcher's government in attacking Labour and of making dangerous cuts in conventional weapons. He said Labour promised an effective defence strategy which would make more sense for Britain.

He also took the opportunity to assail the Liberals and the Social Democrats for their arguments over a Polaris replacement, accusing Dr David Owen of having sold Mr David Steel "a pup which he knew to be a pup."

FOREIGN EXCHANGES

	Sterling Rates September 29	Previous Closing Rates
Australia	2 2830-2 2870	2 2760-2 2800
Austria	20 42-20.45	20 66-20 69
Belgium	60.18-60 29	60 94-61.05
Canada	1 9890-1 9916	1 9960-1 9989
Denmark	10.96-10 97	11 09-11 11
France	9 50-9 52	9 62-9.64
Germany	2.9028-2 9070	2 93-2 94
Hong Kong	11.19-11.20	11 18-11 19
Ireland	1.0604-1 0614	1.0719-1 0729
Italy	2.005-2.011	2.032-2.038
Japan	220 26-220.83	221 73-222 10
Netherlands	3 2813-3.2857	3 32-3.33
Norway	10.56-10,57	10 65-10.66
Portugal	210.94-212 52	211 45-213 04
Spain	191.37-191.65	193.64-193 91
Sweden	9.90-9 92	9 97-9.98
Switzerland	2.3552-2 3590	2 3847-2 3885
USA	1 4335-1 4345	1 4375-1 4385
ECU	1.3884-1.3902	1 4033-1 4050

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Guardian seeks lobby reform

THE Westminster Lobby system is facing a challenge from the Guardian which could change the traditional relationship between political journalists and Downing Street.

The Parliamentary Lobby Journalists, the organisation of correspondents at the Commons, will have to decide how to respond to an instruction from Mr Peter Preston, editor of the daily Guardian, to his correspondents which would mean that Downing Street would be identified as the source of information given at daily Lobby briefings.

Mr Bernard Ingham, the Prime Minister's press secretary, said that he had no proposals for changing the existing practice of non-attribution in such briefings. "It is not a matter for me," he said. "It is a matter for the Guardian and the lobby."

Mr Ingham attends briefings at the Lobby's invitation and correspondents attending are obliged by the Lobby's rules not to identify Downing Street as the source of their information. If the Lobby changed that rule, allowing Mr Ingham to be identified, it is believed likely that he would no longer attend.

In an exchange of letters last week, Mr Preston informed Mr Ingham of the Guardian's intentions and Mr Ingham said that is was not a matter for him. Mr Preston said journalists had become increasingly distrustful of the system and he believed the time when it could be defended was past.

The Lobby will now have to decide how to respond to the Guardian's statement. A number of correspondents are strongly in favour of reform, but many others are opposed and past efforts at radical reform have foundered. No meetings are scheduled until the return of the Commons in October.

In recent years, some reforms have been introduced — including regular on-the-record briefings with Opposition leaders — but the traditional non-attributability of daily Downing Street briefings has been maintained.

Two years ago Mr Ingham made it clear to the Lobby committee that an on-the-record system was not acceptable to him.

Mr Preston said: "I hope that editors and correspondents on other papers and in broadcasting organisations will support us in this effort at reform."

Putting the Prime Minister's views on the record

James Naughtie reports on the secret byways in the corridors of power

THE Lobby's mysteries ceased to be *real* mysteries a long time ago but the veil, though threadbare, has not yet been lifted properly. The funny old institution has still tried to cling to its dignity.

That self-conscious dignity was once based on genuine secrecy. Only a couple of decades ago the senior figure of the Lobby would move through the Commons corridors like surrogate ministers, accepting confidences, blending naturally into the landscape, and guarding their rules with the iron discipline of a Masonic lodge. That's gone now, but the centrepiece of the system, the daily sessions with Downing Street officials, has remained.

The trouble is that the tantalising glimpse into the Lobby world afforded every time there is a public fuss has resulted in more curiosity, and more misinformation. It's against that background that a large number of journalists at Westminster want to modernise the system. The self-respect that used to enforce secrecy now demands reform.

The Parliamentary Lobby Journalists no longer indulge in the more quaint antics of their progenitors — the coded references to party leaders as Blue Mantle and Red Mantle — to conceal the existence of briefings or the ancient and ridiculous instruction to members to avoid running after ministers in the Commons corridors in case of causing offence.

Such daftness has long since gone, as has the reluctance of Lobby members to confess to outsiders that they attend collective briefings. But what remains is the rule of non-attribution at meetings with Downing Street, and it is that instruction which, more than any other, is at the heart of the trouble.

It means that each morning at 11am when journalists (mainly from evening newspapers and broadcasting organisations) go to Downing Street to meet Mr Bernard Ingham or at 4pm when he comes to meet journalists in the Commons, the conversation cannot be reported except in a second-hand way.

In recent years journalists have begun to signal the source of their information. Sources close to the Prime Minister have, at last, become sources close to the Prime Minister. But such attribution is a breach of Lobby rules. They state that no indication of the source should be given. So there has been a progressive loosening of the rules in practice. The system as it was set up — to conceal from all but members of the Lobby that formal contacts with Downing Street took place — has broken down. Indeed, so notorious have the briefings become that Mr Ingham is accused of almost everything that comes out of Whitehall and every political insult which appears in the press. His ubiquity is extraordinary, but not even he is capable of many of the things of which he is accused.

He is, however, capable of using cleverly the freedom which the Lobby allows him. His closeness to Mrs Thatcher, his political instincts, and his natural bluntness have made him maybe the most formidable exponent of Thatcherism. In some ways, he gave it its image. Day by day he has sketched out the picture of the Prime Minister as she wants to be seen, and it has been imprinted on the nation's mind.

The argument of the old-style Lobby defenders has been that such frankness would not be possible without the standing rule of non-attribution; the argument of reformers that Mr Ingham is given a freedom which allows him to set the tone of political reporting without answering for it. The system gives him deniability, and what greater gift could a civil servant receive?

The Lobby has been getting younger, and bigger, and with these changes there has been a growing restlessness. Two years ago there was an abortive attempt at reform, and shortly afterwards the Labour, Liberal, and SDP leaders accepted the suggestion that they should hold weekly meetings with the Lobby which would be, in effect, press conferences and would discard the non-attribution rule.

But the weekly discussions with Mr John Biffen, the Leader of the Commons, and Viscount Whitelaw, the Leader of the Lords, are still held on the traditional basis — though no one with a passing interest in the way Westminster works can be ignorant of their existence. The only people who don't know now that they take place are the readers.

It is a system which could no longer be made to work, even if that were desirable. Most journalists arriving at Westminster these days do not quail at the thought of these secret intimate gatherings. Few of them get copies of the rules, and even fewer read them. In failing to do so, of course, they miss some gems. This, for example: "Don't talk about Lobby meetings before or after they are held, especially in the presence of those not entitled to attend them. If outsiders appear to know something of the arrangements made by the Lobby, do not confirm their conjectures or assume that as they appear to know they may safely be told the rest."

The Lobby — to the relief of most of its members — can no longer hold that line. Its members think it safe to admit that they meet Mr Ingham, and would prefer the mechanisms they employ in their work to be known.

A lobby journalist's work still depends on individual contacts more than on collective briefings. Ministers meet the Lobby collectively very rarely (and the Prime Minister almost never) and it is outside the Lobby room itself — up in its turret overlooking the Thames — that most of the work is done. And the principle of confidentiality when it is required (but only when it is required) has the same place there as in any other journalistic operation.

But when that principle, though fundamental, becomes an institution in which any Downing Street press secretary cannot be called a Downing Street press secretary it appears to have been turned on its head. It's being used to conceal rather than to reveal.

The result is that dissatisfaction has grown. Mr Ingham's robust political style, which results in some spectacular and highly-enjoyable verbal fights with his inquisitors, has put him in an influential position enjoyed by few of his predecessors. Though he might deny it, he can often dictate the tone of the coverage of Westminster politics by releasing information selectively and steering correspondents away from interesting areas by offering juicy titbits which appear, at the time, irresistible. He is where he is because he is so good at it.

Diary of a decent man

Hugo Young on the autobiography of the Cabinet's give and take minister

JIM PRIOR is one of the decent men of the last decade, and as such he has been a rarity in high Conservative politics. His autobiography, now being extensively serialised in the Observer before appearing formally between hard covers, is a political event of some importance: the first substantial effort by any of the 20 ministers who have left Mrs Thatcher's Cabinet, to put his side of the story. But its main political interest, one must say, is as a testament to failure.

As the serialisation has already shown, the decent man cannot always contain himself. Happily, a certain venom spices his memories of government. For a Tory to do this kind of thing to colleagues still in place — even though he is far from being a Crossman or a Castle — is a departure from good behaviour, to be put down as one more item in the Thatcher legacy. She who has lived by disloyalty must expect in part to perish by disloyalty in reply.

The person who comes out worst is actually Sir Geoffrey Howe. Where others emerged with credit as well as blame from the Prior reckoning, Howe is repaid with some savagery for years of being wrong. Hopelessly legalistic and quite unable to understand human nature, he "concocted" a first budget that did "so much harm", and then played the deceiving saboteur of union-reform plans for which Prior thought he'd got full Cabinet agreement.

Jim thought the whole Treasury team were "not a very impressive bunch", out of their depth, and without experience of "running a whelk stall let alone a decent-sized company" — a point that could be made against many famous wets as well, but let that pass. Compared with Sir Geoffrey, even Keith Joseph is handled with some affection, as a soft-hearted man whose only crime was to be addicted to "hare-brained schemes".

One of Prior's more graphic, yet piteous, paragraphs describes Joseph's efforts as Industry Secretary to grapple with BL's demands for vast amounts of public money he thought it should not have. "Poor Keith used to have sweat all over his face as he contorted himself and his conscience."

Such glimpses of the exercise of power, however, are not often afforded. This is not a book about how the Thatcher Cabinet conducted itself. It will have caused Sir Robert Armstrong, if he was asked to vet it for official secrets, no problems, for it is very sparing with revelations.

There are some, but in a minor key. Prior tells a little more than we knew about the chasm of incompetence which precluded Ted Heath and the Liberal leader, Jeremy Thorpe, from taking even the first step towards a coalition in March 1974. He reveals that it was he not Joseph who had the idea of



James Prior

putting Ian MacGregor into British Steel. We learn more startlingly than before just how deep was the commitment of the monetarists, in the early days, to the proposition that the level of incomes literally did not matter.

The book is relatively thin on the precise details of encounters with Mrs Thatcher, but one example might merit being called in evidence when the Westland saga resurfaces in the Commons next month.

Prior describes a visit he paid her early in 1981 — "one of my many efforts to try to get back into a reasonable working relationship." On the subject of leaks to the press, he conceded that he went in for it from time to time and added, "But, of course, so do you."

"Oh no, Jim, I never leak," the Prime Minister replied.

"Well, if you tell me that I must accept it, but in that case your officials and press people certainly leak for you."

"Oh, that's quite wrong. They never know anything so how could they leak?"

Looking back, he appears to think he was wrong even in 1979, when the battle had hardly been joined. "Margaret had caught the new mood," he writes. "She was more in tune with people than I was." Again, "she was right and I was wrong" over incomes policy, another policy he battled for in the late 1970s. When, in mid-1981, he began publicly manoeuvring to avoid being sent to Northern Ireland, "I was playing for high stakes and I got it wrong."

These disclosures of a concessive character are paralleled by the sheer incredulity Prior admits to: his inability to see what is happening. He describes the first budget not merely as wrong but as "an enormous shock".

So naivete was the wets' second mistake. The Thatcher phenomenon hit them out of a clear sky, they having "grossly underestimated her absolute determination." Rather like the print unions at Wapping, they allowed their birthright to be whipped from under their noses, and now plead ignorance about what was going on.

A third strand of misconduct also emerges. Faced by a prime minister ruthlessly determined to exclude them from all economic decision-making, they were unwilling to mobilise against her. They declined to make common cause or work together. Prior describes only one occasion when they tried to, a half-hearted effort to think about bolting the Cabinet over the 1981 budget. He had breakfast with Peter Walker and Ian Gilmour. But that was all.

Jim Prior should not have been sent to Northern Ireland. He was well qualified to be Industry Secretary, and in a better-run government under a less insecure prime minister his old-fashioned Tory talents would have been deployed there in 1981.

All the same, there is something appropriate about his ending both his career and his very honest book in Belfast. Like Northern Ireland Secretaries before him, he became obsessively interested in the place. Ulster is given as much as one-third of his autobiography, and it places him appositely: a believer in rational persuasion and the politics of give-and-take, at large among forces that believe in nothing of the kind. So it was in Ulster. So it was in Mrs Thatcher's Cabinet.

A Balance of Power, by James Prior, is published by Hamish Hamilton on October 6.

The prince of Sadler's Wells

Sir Robert Helpmann died in Sydney at the weekend. This appreciation was written by the late James Kennedy

ROBERT HELPMANN had two stage careers. In the one, ballet, he excelled; in the other, acting, he was only a little less well known.

Besides being a dancer he was choreographer, producer and, eventually, director of a national ballet company. In the spoken word theatre he directed as well as acted. He appeared in many films. He belonged to the small group who nurtured the Sadler's Wells (later the Royal) Ballet from infancy to postwar fame (1933-50); much later (1965-76) he helped to set up the Australian Ballet.

He was born in 1909 in Mount Gambier, South Australia, eldest of the three children of a fairly successful businessman and a formidable lady, Mary (neé Gardiner) whose wish to go on the stage was fulfilled vicariously by her children; they all acted professionally. He acted and danced from childhood. His conversion to ballet came at 14 when Pavlova took him into her company during her Australian tour. Nine years later, after a busily successful adolescence in Australian musical comedy, he came to Britain, under the advice of the actress Margaret Rawlings. Then came his first, often recounted meeting with Ninette de Valois, who said of him, and to him: "I can do something with that face." After a very brief apprenticeship in the Sadler's Wells corps de ballet he succeeded to Anton Dolin as Satan in Job and as partner to Markova in Giselle.

In the same ballet two years later he was with Markova's very young successor, Fonteyn, and her partner he remained for the remaining 13 years of his time with the company.

De Valois's The Haunted Ballroom gave him his first role in a new ballet. In 1950 his career changed course.

For the next 15 years acting and play-production were to come first.

Elektra, in 1963, was the last and most sensational of his works for the Royal Ballet. In the same year he was chiefly responsible for a new and controversial production of Swan Lake at Covent Garden.

Thereafter nearly all his work was with and for the new Australian Ballet of which he became co-director, with Damme Peggy van Praagh, in 1965. For this company he had by then already made The Display in 1964. This was followed by Yugen (1965), Sun Music (1968), Perisynthion (1974) and finally, in cooperation with Ronald Hynd, a balletic version of The Merry Widow, which proved to be the company's most popular, if not most artistic, success. For one year he was the sole director, unpartnered.

Some said that Helpmann, as dancer, was a splendid actor and, as actor, a splendid dancer. Such jibes beset his extraordinarily busy and varied career. They, in fact, veiled considerable compliments. True that in the princely roles in ballet's classics he could do no more than get by; his classical training had been too little and too late. But he had an imposing manner — not a virtuoso among balletic princes but a shrewd, presentable, and musical, one; and at Sadler's Wells and in the early years at Covent Garden this prince was indispensable. The dramatic roles were quite another matter; in them he was at home — and peerless (witness his still unmatched playing of the Red King in de Valois's Checkmate). In the comic roles he was best of all — as Dr Coppelius, for instance, or as Mr O'Relly in The Prospect Before Us, or as an Ugly Sister in Ashton's Cinderella, this last being a role in which, with Ashton himself as the other sister, he continued to delight the Covent Garden audiences into his sixties. As an actor (spoken word) he lacked the voice for greatness but he had an exquisite sense of timing and moved with an unforced grace unknown to most actors; he had a strong talent for melodrama if not for tragedy. He was a fine producer of plays. The ballets which he made for the Sadler's Wells and Australian companies were highly dramatic, briefly sensational and lacked the dance-inventiveness which gives long life to choreography. In fact none of those he made in Britain has endured, save, perhaps, his Hamlet, as an oddity. But in their time, during or just after the war, they were invaluable props to the repertory.

The theatre, as he used to say, was his life. He was — and well he knew it — very competitive and determined. His face, with which de Valois had said she "could do something," was huge-eyed, gnome-like and ageless; his physique was light, quick, graceful, an asset even into old age. He was witty and sociable and, in the theatre, had very good friends; his competitive abrasiveness made him enemies as well. He used, until he was quite old, to bewail his lack of education. Because of this lack he tried all the harder and, probably, got on all the better. He was knighted in 1968 and loved, he said, being "sirred" by his enemies.

James Kennedy, who died last year, was ballet critic of the Guardian for nearly 50 years.

Queen on threat to Commonwealth

By Hella Pick

THE Queen, opening a meeting of Commonwealth parliamentarians in London's Westminster Hall last week, warned against the danger of allowing policy disagreements to break up a unique institution.

She said that, "from the family relationship (of the Commonwealth) comes the capacity to disagree without breaking up . . . friendship need not exclude plain speaking, and understanding can best be reached in an atmosphere of tolerance and respect for the opinions of others".

Mrs Thatcher gave an example of plain speaking on South Africa. She said she had no intention of bowing to Commonwealth pressure to support punitive sanctions and felt Britain had no responsibility for holding the Commonwealth together.

"We all detest apartheid and want to see it demolished. We don't quite agree on how best to do it. But it was never envisaged that the Commonwealth should become an institution for the joint execution of action."

Mrs Thatcher was emphatic about her own future. She said she looked forward to attending the next summit of Commonwealth heads of government, to be held in Vancouver in October next year.

The occasion was the beginning of a five-day conference, marking the 75th anniversary of the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association.

Covent Garden facelift

By Simon Midgley

AN ambitious £55 million scheme to modernise the 19th century Covent Garden, home of the Royal Opera House was announced in London last week.

The plan, which includes modernising the stage and providing a permanent home for the Royal Ballet, will result "in one of the most beautiful and exciting arts complexes anywhere in the world" according to Sir Claus Moser, the chairman of the Royal Opera House Board.

The proposal also includes a colonaded shopping arcade on the north and east sides of the square. Substantial revenue is expected from the sales and lettings of shops and offices and a predicted £20 million shortfall will be met partly by private donation.

Construction work, beginning in 1988, likely to involve the closure of the Opera House for two years from July 1991 and negotiations for a temporary home are taking place now.

The Theatre Royal, Drury Lane, is one possibility. Covent Garden's stage has scarcely been altered since 1902. By contemporary standards it is small and conditions backstage are primitive. New side and rear stages are to be added, existing machinery replaced and the present flytower rebuilt.

New stages, workshops, dressing rooms and studios for the Royal Ballet, are to replace existing overcrowded facilities.

Airline faces ban after terrorist gaoled

By Paul Keel

THE Government is considering a ban or drastic curbs on Libyan Arab Airlines flights to Britain in view of evidence at an Old Bailey trial which implicated the airline in terrorism.

The court heard that a bagful of grenades for an Arab terrorist, who was gaoled for 25 years last week, was taken through Heathrow Airport by a man in LAA uniform.

Dr Rasmi Abdul Hafez Awad, aged 43, was convicted after a 10-day trial in which he had denied conspiring to cause explosions and being a member of the Abu Nidal terrorist group. A Libyan double agent tipped off police and the grenades were found in the bag.

The Foreign Office said last week that ministers were urgently considering what measures to take against the airline now that the trial was over. Security surrounding LAA flights was increased after the man's arrest last September but international aviation rules and legal agreements prevented further action until the trial verdict.

"The Government is gravely concerned that this case clearly implicates Libyan Arab Airlines in terror-related activity," said the Foreign Office. "The Government remains determined to be tough on terrorists and those who assist them."

The British concession for services to Libya is held by British Caledonian but security and insurance problems stopped their flights recently.

Awad was arrested in London in September last year by the anti-terrorist branch of Scotland Yard after officers had watched him collect a holdall containing grenades from a Libyan student.

The student, who appeared in court at the Old Bailey in disguise to give evidence for the prosecution, had told the police that he was under pressure from Tripoli to assist in a terrorist plot and was directed by the anti-terrorist branch to continue following his instructions.

The student collected a package containing the grenades from the Libyan Arab Airlines office at Heathrow Airport and was later instructed to hand it over to Awad at a London Tube station.

After being arrested in possession of the grenades with another Arab, Mr Nassar Mohamed, Awad claimed that he had believed the package to contain drugs. But documents found at the doctor's apartment in Madrid linked him to Abu Nidal and terrorist plots.

Awad's co-defendant, Mohamed, a 28-year-old Iraqi-born student, was found not guilty of taking part in the conspiracy.

The red alert over a non-nuclear Britain

By Michael White in Washington

"I BELIEVE that Cap Weinberger and the British Labour Party pose the two biggest threats to the alliance," a well-placed Democrat on Capitol Hill snapped as news filtered back across the Nato pond that the Defence Secretary was steaming menacingly towards the Blackpool coast to lob a TV interview across the Opposition's bow.

Cap, who has misplaced Churchillian instincts about anything which smacks of appeasement, has been having a thin time lately with all this talk about a deal on arms control — a topic on which he has loyally kept his reservations to himself. But his remarks on Panorama represent the conventional American wisdom on Nato. It embraces most Democrats, with the important distinction that they think the Reagan Administration has handled East-West relations with aggressive incompetence — to the detriment of alliance cohesion.

Ritual votes of loyalty to Nato at Blackpool cut no ice with them. Americans may not much care one way or another if Britain clings to the illusion of an independent deterrent (except in export terms), but they regard the alliance as one in which inescapable nuclear burdens must be shared. Look at the way they are trying to stamp out a minor outbreak of "nuclear allergy" in far-away New Zealand. They fear infection.

All the same there is a weary predictability about Mr Weinberger's dire alarms. They are almost as old as the alliance and were last heard in similar form in March 1981 when the National Security Advisor, Richard Allen, spoke of "outright pacifist sentiments" in Europe after the Labour/SDP split and blamed it all on "deficit spending (sic) and uncontrollable social programmes".

Four years later Allen is long gone and Nato is still there. But the well-placed Democrat may also be over-optimistic in insisting that there remain "no good alternatives" to the status quo. As Labour activists gather in Blackpool and Liberals agonise on the alliance's correct stance they should be under no illusion that Europeans are alone in seeking to upend the arrangements which Atlanticists of the Heath-Schmidt-Callaghan generation have taken for granted.

The American debate, such as it is, emanates largely from the right where — as on the Labour left — ideological fervour provides a liberating capacity to contemplate the slaughter of sacred cows, a pragmatism supposedly the prerogative of the Liberal centre. From that quarter we have seen only a token attempt by Senator Sam Nunn, the moderate Democrats' leading defence intellectual, to cut US troop levels in Europe — but only to extract higher support expenditures from the perfidious allies. There has always been one Senator willing to try.

Gary Hart, front-runner for the Democrats' next Presidential nomination recently observed: "We are not the Romans. We do not intend to stay in Germany for 300 years." But that was it. In his book on military reform, America Can Win, Senator Hart devotes a couple of pages to beefing up operational reserves on the Nato central front with a view to counter-attacking against a Soviet thrust.

Meanwhile a motley crew of repentent former presidential advisors, led by Robert McNamara and George Kennan, propose adoption of a nuclear "no first use" policy as a healthy recognition of reality. But in their latest salvo last May they drew back from earlier emphasis on stronger conventional defence. The implication is that a conflicting reality — the US budgetary crisis and European tightfistedness — makes such an expensive alternative implausible.

Conservative debaters, many of them "neo-conservative" refugees from the other side, have no such inhibitions. Many of them don't think much of the Europeans, whom they regard as rich, tightwad, effete, mercantilist (a favourite word of Dick "Prince of Darkness" Perle, the brains behind Cap), and wimpish in regard to the Soviet menace. The Europeans also complain about US conduct in, say, Central America, to the point where Irving Crystal, nicknamed the godfather of neo-conservatism, is predicting a major Nato clash leading to a rethink or even "the withdrawal of US forces".

Assorted conservatives are also keen to save money where they can, either to cut the US budget deficit (the fuddy-duddy tendency) or to spend the money projecting US military power where it can be put to better use — in those very manifestations of "global unilateralism" which so upset the tiresome allies — Nicaragua, Libya or the Gulf. Money saved could be spent on strategic reserves and on the fledgling rapid deployment force.

We are talking a lot of money. Of the $300 billion Pentagon budget something between $120 and $170 billion can be ascribed to Nato — as much as the budget deficit. But it is also a matter of strategic rethinking. Henry Kissinger and Zbigniew Brzezinski, both holders of Richard Allen's post in their time, have proposed a 5-10 year phased unilateral withdrawal of ground troops — not nukes — to halve the present US contribution and get the Allies to shoulder more of their own defence. Others say that 300,000 GIs are no more than a Maginot Line, a nuclear trip-wire which is hopelessly out of date.

There is no sign that the Reagan White House is entertaining serious thought beyond the defensive dreams embodied in "Star Wars," the perfect Californian marriage between Hollywood and high tech. But nationalistic sentiment on either side of the Atlantic is increasingly restless and volatile as the sentiments which bound the wartime allies grow weaker and issues like trade and Mr Gorbachev's suits divide them.

Americans, even ardent BBC Anglophiles, persistently underestimate European fears of nuclear folly. Nevada nuclear tests evoke little interest in New York, which is not much closer to Nevada than to London. No missile has ever fallen on New York, no foreign army razed Chicago. Nor do they understand how President Reagan's windy rhetoric and domestic popularity seems incomprehensible abroad, how Western Europe can entertain hopes of detente with Moscow (yet again) without wishing to be under Communist domination, let alone how weariness with the superpower blocs leads relentlessly towards the joys of neutralism.

Since Labour has consolidated its lead in the polls Washington is beginning to focus on its manifesto commitments. The major US papers will be out in force in Blackpool this week. Among columnists and leader-writers there will be an alarmist tendency to take for granted that Mr Kinnock and (even more unlikely) the German SPD will win working majorities in 1987 or '88 and actually do what they promise to (unlike Lord Wilson). Officials are questioning visiting politicians. Diplomats are getting nervous.

Yet if the sacred cows are on collision course some good may come of it. Forty years is a long life for a cow and when the dust has settled a detente-orientated Nato strategy may accommodate all sorts of unexpected options, non-offensive, de-nucleared or d-coupled. There is no sign that Congressional Democrats are bold enough to start thinking aloud. But even as Mr Weinberger fires his salvo his boss is edging towards a deal on intermediate nukes which may (or may not) reduce or eliminate those Cruise and SS-20 missiles.

Deterring the Americans

By Ian Aitken in London

THE extraordinary public onslaught by Caspar Weinberger on the Labour Party's non-nuclear defence policy at least has the virtue that it provides persuasive proof of an underlying proposition about the so-called "independent" British deterrent. That proposition is that the continued existence of a British nuclear force has a lot more to do with deterring the Americans from deserting us than with deterring the Russians from attacking us.

The central thesis of Mr Weinberger's pre-emptive strike against the election of a Labour government under Neil Kinnock is that, if such a thing were to happen, and were to be followed by the "de-commissioning" of Polaris and the closure of American nuclear bases, the United States would seriously consider pulling out of the defence of Europe. Or, to put it more brutally: "Vote Labour and you're on your own."

This kind of naked political interventionism is clearly a high-risk strategy both for the Americans and for Mrs Thatcher, and Mr Kinnock was doing his best at the weekend to imply that Mr Weinberger's views were by no means typical of the American political establishment. But if there is much disagreement about it in Washington, it is more likely to be about the wisdom of going public on the subject of a friendly ally's internal affairs than about the actual substance of the Defence Secretary's argument.

The fact is that, whether they say it in public or not, that is what they think. Though it was put to me rather more privately and a great deal less publicly by a leading American diplomatist recently, the message I was given was much the same.

It remains to be seen whether Weinberger's flagrantly open attempt to influence the outcome of the next British general election proves counter-productive or not. Not so long ago I am fairly confident that being pushed around by an American defence secretary would have produced a massive nationalist backlash, and might well have assured Neil Kinnock his place in Downing Street. In our current reduced circumstances, I am not quite so confident.

But Mr Weinberger's utterances recorded in the Panorama programme will nevertheless have one valuable consequence for the honesty of this debate taking place on defence policy across the entire political spectrum. His remarks mean that, this time round, the argument will be based on realities rather than the bits that have dominated public discussion ever since the foundation of Nato.

The retention of Britain's nuclear weapons has always been closely related to the question of how to tie the United States into Europe. The discussion of such matters among those "in the know" (and also those merely believing themselves to be in the know) has always been more concerned with American intentions than with those of the Kremlin.

What has been at stake has been the persistent fear of European leaders that the United States would sooner or later be tempted to revert to its well-known isolationist traditions, or (perhaps even worse) might seek to go it alone militarily in other theatres of the world. Many, if not quite all, of the key decisions relating to European defence have been dictated by this fear rather than with the immediate fear of an imminent Soviet attack through central Europe.

But if this has been the reality behind most of Nato's defence policy, the way in which the subject has been presented to the innocent British voter at successive general elections has been different to the point of fantasy. Hanging on to Polaris, accepting cruise missiles, letting our bases be used for attacks on Libya, even pauperising our conventional forces by replacing Polaris with Trident — all these matters have been discussed as if they had something to do with Britain's day-to-day defence against an anticipated Soviet attack.

We have been invited to believe that the retention of these weapons is crucial to deterring a direct military onslaught by the vast might of the Soviet Union, or necessary at the very minimum to prevent the Russians intimidating us in situations of diplomatic confrontation. What is rarely said is that their real use is almost entirely diplomatic, and that they are really targeted on Washington rather than on Moscow.

It is not difficult to see why this is so. If the real case for retaining Polaris, let alone for spending more than £10 billion on its Trident replacement, were put to the electorate in these terms it is highly unlikely that it would go down as well as what might be described as the Rorke's Drift, stand-alone, approach to defence policy.

Ordinarily patriotic people who have not thought much about the matter, but nevertheless believe its military virtues — and that means most of our population — instinctively respond to the proposition that this country must be "properly defended". And it is easy enough to argue that, if your potential enemy has a particular sort of weapon, we ought to have it too.

But it is more questionable whether such people would be equally convinced if they were frankly warned that the weapons in question were not really for firing at our enemies but for persuading our friends of our undying loyalty to their principles of foreign policy.

The misfortune about the debate on defence as it has been recently conducted inside both the Labour Party and the Alliance is that it has assisted the Conservative party to maintain the national argument on the level of fantasy rather than that of reality. Time and again it has been the clash between traditional defence and unilateralism, between Rorke's Drift and pacificism, which has seemed to be the issue.

But as the opinion polls have begun to demonstrate, there is now a growing yearning among uncommitted voters for an end to this sort of thing in favour of a genuine effort to achieve worldwide disarmament. Peace is no longer a dirty word, and it is the belligerent posturing of President Reagan and Mrs Thatcher which has brought about this dramatic change in public perceptions. There is not the slightest doubt that the Labour Party, the Liberals and even Dr Owen's Social Democrats are severally and collectively more genuinely committed to the search for disarmament than Mrs Thatcher and her government.

So the hope must be that Mr Weinberger, however, unwelcome on the British political stage, may have helped unintentionally to concentrate the eyes of the British electorate on what the real issues will be when they finally go to the polls. Rarely can it have been made more obvious to them that the real issue is how closely they want to be tied to America's coat-tails.

THE WEEK

THE White House was embarking upon a tactical retreat at the weekend in its rearguard action against punitive South African sanctions. The Chief of Staff, Mr Donald Regan, signalled a willingness to compromise on a milder sanctions package that he rejected only weeks ago.

President Reagan waited until four hours before the procedural deadline to veto the sanctions package agreed by both houses of Congress.

Mr Reagan's motive was to blunt the impact of veto, which was deplored in editorials across the country.

By waiting until 8pm on Friday night, he could be certain that his critics in the House had gone home, and could not immediately vote to override him. And he avoided catching the main television news bulletins.

Both the Republican Senate and Democrat-controlled House of Representatives are expected to override the veto by the necessary two-thirds majority during the final days of the 99th Congress.

AN airlift of French paratroopers continued at the weekend to the West African state of Togo, where French soldiers were guarding key positions after the failed incursion by Togo rebels from neighbouring Ghana. About 200 French troops, ferried in from a base in the Central African republic and backed by Jaguar fighter-bombers, were sent to reinforce "several dozen" French military advisers already in the country under a 1976 cooperation agreement.

THE sharp fall in the dollar over the last year may soon lead to an improvement in the US's current account deficit, the managing director of the International Monetary Fund, Mr Jacques de Larosiere, said in Washington.

His statement came as the dollar fell sharply on the foreign exchanges, dragging sterling with it. The central banks intervened in the Far East and Europe to steady the dollar's decline.

Mr de Larosiere's comments on the US current account came at a press conference of the Interim Committee of the IMF, where concern was expressed about the sluggish growth in the industrial countries and high unemployment. The IMF expressed hope that economic activity would pick up some steam later this year and in 1987.

As expected the Interim Committee agreed to strengthen the content of its World Economic Outlook as part of an effort to increase international monetary cooperation. The aim is to use a series of economic indicators, based on the balance between savings and investment in each of the major industrial countries, to review government economic policy. However, the vagueness of the declaration suggests that the way in which the IMF wants to proceed has not yet been accepted by all countries.

ISRAELI planes last week attacked guerrilla targets near the Lebanese coastal city of Sidon. It was the second air raid in a week during which tension has risen after Israeli troop movements backing Christian allies in the border "security zone."

THE International Atomic Energy Agency ended a special conference last week with 52 member states signing conventions to improve international cooperation in the wake of a nuclear accident.

The conventions, born out of last April's Chernobyl disaster which affected areas far beyond Soviet borders, obliges states to warn others if radiation leaking from a civilian nuclear power plant threatens their territory.

The Soviet Union faces another energy crisis this winter, Pravda said, with shortfalls in the construction programme for power stations combining with the impact of the Chernobyl disaster. There will be power cuts through the southern regions of the country.

THE South African homeland of Ciskei threatened retaliation against its neighbour, Transkei, over the weekend drama in which white commandos rescued Ciskei's former security force commander, Mr Charles Sebe, from gaol and kidnapped the President's son.

The President, Mr Lennox Sebe — brother of the escaped Charles — appealed for South African intervention to defuse the confrontation with Transkei. He disclosed that he had received demands from his son's abductors, which included the resignation of his Government and the release of another two of his nephews who are being held in Ciskei gaols.

THE year's death toll from violence in Punjab rose to more than 500 when Sikh militants killed three Hindus on the first anniversary of the state's moderate Sikh government. Four other people were wounded when two gunmen riding a motorcycle opened fire on passers-by with machineguns in the outskirts of the industrial city of Jullundur.

CHINA has announced that talks aimed at settling the long-running border dispute with the Soviet Union will reopen after a nine-year break. The move is a fresh sign of the two countries' steadily improving relations.

Cruise force in UK may be cut

By Hella Pick and David Fairhall

RADICAL American and Soviet arms control proposals for medium-range nuclear missiles, now under active negotiation, would almost certainly lead to the scrapping of the Molesworth cruise missile site in Cambridgeshire and possibly a significant cut in the force of 96 cruise missiles based at Greenham Common.

Moreover, the Soviet Union is no longer demanding "compensation" for the British and French nuclear deterrents in the context of such an agreement or insisting that the United States cancels the sale of Trident to the UK.

This means that opponents of Britain's nuclear deterrent can no longer claim that the Government's refusal to abandon Trident is preventing a US-Soviet agreement to reduce the numbers of American cruise and Pershing II missiles and Soviet SS20s.

Even Polaris has ceased to be a negotiating chip in the context of present US-Soviet negotiations on intermediate-range nuclear missiles.

The deal now being worked out by the two superpowers would remove all but a token number of cruise and Pershing missiles in Europe. The US proposal calls for 100 medium range warheads on each side in Europe. It would also allow the Soviet Union to retain 100 warheads on SS20s targeted against Asia, while giving the US the option of retaining an equivalent number in the United States.

These figures may still have to be adjusted but at most, it seems Western Europe would be left with no more than 200 cruise and Pershing missiles, each carrying one warhead.

This is a sharp reduction from the planned Nato total of 572 and would mean removing some already in place. Apart from Greenham Common, cruise missiles are deployed in Italy and 108 Pershing IIs are in place.

One way in which the new deployment of 100 warheads could be achieved is to leave one flight of 16 cruise missiles in each of the five European countries involved in the 1979 Nato programme and top up with 20 Pershing IIs in Germany.

This would have the political advantage of spreading the nuclear responsibility and would also please the Supreme Commander, General Bernard Rogers, from a military point of view. But once the package is fully known, the Netherlands may reverse its reluctant decision to accept 48 missiles.

After the Soviet Foreign Minister's talks in Washington last month, both the US and the Soviet Union have expressed considerable optimism that an agreement on medium range missiles is at last within reach.

The Russians suggest that work is sufficiently advanced for the broad outlines, if not the final agreement, to form the centre piece of the next Reagan-Gorbachev summit. Some US officials warn that important differences still remain.

The most dramatic outcome for Britain could be the scrapping of the planned cruise base at Molesworth. Engineering work is already well under way, although the 64 missiles are not scheduled to be deployed until 1988.

US officials recalling all the political opposition to the deployment of cruise and Pershing missiles in Britain and the rest of Western Europe — including the spectacular, long-lasting women's protest at Greenham Common — are surprised that these developments have attracted so little attention, either among the political parties, or the European peace movements.

Until recently the Intermediate Nuclear Forces negotiations have been slowed by two key obstacles — on the US side, insistence that reductions must be global and not confined to Europe; and on the Soviet side, a determination to include British and French nuclear weapons in any INF agreement.

Now, the Soviet Union, in what looks like a major concession, seems to have given way on both these issues, and the British and French governments will certainly feel vindicated in their consistent refusal to allow Washington to trade with their deterrent forces.

Army's intervention foils rebel attack

By David Hirst in Beirut

LOYALIST Christian militiamen, aided by the army, were in full control of East Beirut at the weekend after repulsing an invasion by Syrian-backed Christian rebels.

The weekend's fighting was the first time since the beginning of the civil war, in April, 1975, that combatants from one side of Beirut have fought their way deep into the other. Coming together with the deteriorating situation in south Lebanon, this new and unexpected development is fraught with as yet unforeseeable consequences.

Ever since January, when the fanatical Mr Samir Geagea ousted Mr Eli Hobeika from the command of the Lebanese forces, the Christian militia, Mr Hobeika has been plotting revenge or even a full-scale comeback.

Most of his militia — thought to number 2,000 or 3,000 men — is based in the Syrian-controlled Beka'a Valley, and it was generally expected that if he tried to penetrate the Maronite heartlands he would do so from the mountains.

But he struck in Beirut itself, and such was the surprise that he achieved a startling initial success, penetrating as far as Place Sassin, the highest point of the Ashrafiyah quarter, and the very heart of Christian Beirut.

Before the attack, inside accomplices used a bulldozer to demolish part of the huge earthen barricades dividing the two halves of the city.

According to the loyalists, Syrian soldiers, militiamen from Amal, the mainstream Shi'ite organisation, Hezbollah and the Lebanese Ba'ath party participated in the offensive. Syria and west Beirut deny this, but the whole operation clearly had Syrian support.

The fighting between former comrades was as fierce as any Beirut has seen — a 14-hour battle in some of the choicest districts of Ashrafiyah, involving a whole range of weapons from Kalashnikovs to tanks. Casualties are put at 65 dead and some 200 wounded.

It was only with the help of the army units loyal to President Amin Gemayel that Mr Geagea's militia managed to drive out the followers of their former commander. The army's Tenth Brigade made a pincer movement to seal off Mr Hobeika's line of communication to west Beirut.

Sources in West Beirut believe that Mr Hobeika's objective was to seize full control of Ashrafiyah. This would have been a devastating blow to the Maronite Christian camp, shifting the whole balance of power in favour of the Muslims. It would also have been a great success for Syria, with implications for the whole region. It failed, some say, only because Mr Hobeika wrongly counted on the army remaining neutral.

The UN Security Council, meanwhile, adopted a French resolution calling for the withdrawal of Israeli forces from southern Lebanon. The vote was 14-0 with the US abstaining. The move is aimed at easing the pressure on the Unifil force in southern Lebanon which has been subjected to an increasing number of attacks.

Paris moves to early use of N-weapons

By Jonathan Steele in Paris

FRANCE is making an important shift in its defence policy towards earlier use of battlefield nuclear weapons in a European crisis. The move goes against the trend within Nato to reduce reliance on these weapons, and would make France an awkward partner for any British government which sought to harmonise defence policies with it.

The new policy is being hammered out in the conservative cabinet of Mr Jacques Chirac as part of France's defence plans for the years 1987-1991. It is expected to be announced in the next few weeks.

Hints of the new nuclear doctrine first appeared in a speech by Mr Chirac to the Institute of Defence Studies a fortnight ago. They have subsequently been confirmed by leaks from members of parliamentary committees on defence.

Previous French governments have never considered the country's short-range nuclear weapons. They were described as "pre-strategic" as a way of symbolising the close link between them and France's long-range nuclear missiles which can hit the Soviet Union.

The "pre-strategic" weapons were meant as a "last warning" to the Warsaw Pact, designed to be held back as long as possible after the start of a war in Europe, but leading to an all-out nuclear exchange if any Warsaw Pact attack persisted.

In his speech to the Institute of Defence Studies, however, the rightwing Prime Minister enunciated a doctrine which amounts to using the medium-range weapons at an earlier stage in a war. "France wants to be in a position to give the aggressor a nuclear warning at a time and place which will depend on the circumstances of the battlefield," Mr Chirac said.

"Deterrence in Europe, whether one wants it or not, has to depend on a coupling of traditional forces with the threat to resort to nuclear weapons," he added.

Officials in the Prime Minister's office say his remarks mean that the concept of a "last warning" has been abandoned. France now wants to create extra uncertainty in the mind of any aggressor. The new doctrine would not allow the Russians to assume that France would not use its nuclear weapons until a Warsaw Pact advance had reached the Rhine or even the French frontier.

The doctrine is being welcomed by conservative defence experts in France who have long criticised the separation or "de-coupling" between France's conventional and nuclear forces. They claimed this made things too easy for Soviet military planners.

The exchange is expected to be made explicit when the French Government announces its plans for the next generation of short-range missiles, the Hades, at the end of the current defence review. MPs in the Government parties have said the order for 40 Hades missiles (with a range of just under 200 miles), which are meant to replace Pluto from 1992, will be halved.

More significantly, the Hades will be deployed with the various French army corps instead of being kept in a special nuclear unit.

Fair shares for women

By Jonathan Steele

ASKED in Oslo why she had no women in her Cabinet, Mrs Thatcher launched into a long explanation of the Westminster system. Prime Ministers could not just pick people from outside Parliament for the Cabinet, she said, as they could in Norway. In Britain you had to take MPs or peers, and there were only about 25 women among 650 MPs. "This is a very limiting factor," she declared.

To most Norwegians, Mrs Thatcher's argument would sound less like an explanation than an excuse, and a flimsy one at that. For what is remarkable about Norway is not just that its woman Prime Minister has appointed seven others to the Cabinet, but that a large proportion of the Norwegian Labour Party's MPs are women, 43 per cent to be exact.

This is a world record. It results from a decision taken by the party at its congress three years ago to impose a quota system for candidate selection. Forty per cent had to be women by the next election.

"Why had they not insisted on 50 per cent, or would that be the next target?", I asked Sissel Roenbeck, one of the new women Cabinet members who is Minister of the Environment. "No," she replied, "we want flexibility, not a rigid formula. The party decision was actually that each sex should have at least 40 per cent of candidates and office-holders."

The Norwegian quota system has not yet been followed in Sweden where about a quarter of the Social Democratic Party Cabinet are women. But the West German SPD has just decided to work towards a 40 per cent quota in two years' time. The West German Greens have a fifty-fifty quota for their MPs.

Remarkable too is the comparative youth of the Norwegian Cabinet (average age 46). The Prime Minister is 47, Mrs Roenbeck is 36. "At no point has it been difficult finding qualified women. We have been an under-used resource," she says.

A former chair of the party's youth organisation, and now chair of its women's organisation, she rejects the idea that Norway is a feminist paradise. Few other Western industrial countries have such a clear sex demarcation of jobs as Norway. Virtually all nurses and primary school teachers are women, for example. Indeed almost all the "caring" professions are 100 per cent women, and usually these are low-wage jobs.

Out of 20 county education chiefs only four are women. Senior university appointments are male dominated, and this spring there were campus strikes in an effort to make changes.

There may be cultural and historical reasons why Norway has more women in politics than any other place. In the remote, rural areas which typify the countryside, women always tended to be the dominant figure in the family, as men were absent for long periods at sea or trekking across difficult terrain to buy much-needed salt.

But as a professional politician, Sissel Roenbeck believes that organisation is the key factor for women's recent advances. "It is because of the process we went through during the International Women's Decade, and the fact that in the Labour Party we organised."

The expansion of creches in the 1970's, and guaranteed maternity leave helped to get more women into jobs. But the part-time labour market was not enough since it mainly benefitted men who "had their cake and ate it."

Women should press harder for paternity leave for men, and for the right for fathers to take time off when children are ill or on school holidays. "In this area Norway is embarrassingly far behind the other Nordic countries," she says.

How I escaped from kidnappers

David Hirst, the Guardian's man in Beirut describes his ordeal

HOW to get to Quobayat, the Christian village in the rugged far north of Lebanon on which the Paris bombings have conferred such a sudden international notoriety? I wanted to hear the brothers — and supposed confederates — of Georges Ibrahim Abdallah, accused by the French police of participation in the terrorist campaign, protest their innocence.

But how to get anywhere, these days in the crazy mosaic of mutually hostile cantons, and the sometimes dangerous crossings between them, that is Lebanon after 11½ years of a barbarous civil war? How many thousands of Lebanese have been shot, murdered or kidnapped trying to do just that?

A northern political boss, a good friend of mine in his earlier, businessman's days, providentially turned up in West Beirut with his bulletproof car and insisted on taking me with him one way — through the Druzes' mountain fiefdom, down into the Beka'a Valley, stamping ground of Syrian soldiers, Palestinian guerrillas, assorted Shi'ite militiamen and Iranian revolutionary guards, and back over Mount Lebanon to the Syrian-controlled Akkar valley in the far north. But a mischance ruled that out.

The next best thing was the "Museum Crossing," in the heart of Beirut, closed to all but a few who can secure the necessary pass but safer than any other route for those who do. But mischance again intervened. Owing to some obscure wrangle, passes became unobtainable.

So it had to be the "southern suburbs," the vast Shi'ite slum which, since the rise of Hezbollahis and fundamentalists, is apt to send a tremor through most outsiders, especially Christians and the few westerners who still inhabit the city.

Through there runs the last open crossing between the Christian and Muslim halves of this ever more divided capital. I didn't like it much, but surely two cars, a taxi driver and myself in the first and three armed men in the one behind, would be precaution enough?

But mischance can be a dogged foe. And it came, this time, in the shape of one flat tyre as we had set out, and then, the sudden blow-out of another as we negotiated the open sewers and gigantic potholes of the narrow winding track through the chaotic sleezy architecture and rapidly disappearing pasture land of the suburbs' outermost perimeter.



David Hirst after his escape in Beirut

Yet still there was no real menace in the air. It was 6.30 in the morning. Very few people were about, and I had few qualms when the escort nipped up the road "for a couple of minutes" to bring help.

But I should have paid more attention to three young men in a beige BMW who passed in one direction and then returned in the other. When they suddenly emerged on foot I cursed myself for not having marked the tell-tale signs, the mean, inquisitive looks, of thugs on the prowl.

"Papers," one of them demanded. I produced my press card. "American?" a second man asked the first, scarcely able to believe such luck. "No, British," the first replied, with an air of implying that, these days, that was just as good a prize.

They told me to come with them, as is kidnappers' wont, for an "investigation." There had been no guns so far: this was, after all, a main, if still largely deserted, thoroughfare. But my escorts' two minutes' absence, agonisingly prolonged itself beyond my ability to resist the physical manhandling.

A man opening his hole-in-wall repair shop six yards away cast a glance in our direction, and then busied himself with other things.

Once inside their car, the pistols came out — one pressed to my head, from the young and clean-shaven villain in the rear.

As we lurched through the rabbit warren that is the "southern suburbs," I pondered my prospects. If I was lucky, I thought, my kidnappers might be content with the $600 in my pocket, a small fortune in these times of collapsing national currency.

But inevitably my thoughts took a darker turn — to two of my British predecessors, Leigh Douglas and Philip Padfield, who, kidnapped shortly before the American raid on Libya, were found murdered shortly after it. They had apparently been "sold" by just such freelance abductors as mine to a pro-Libyan organisation.

A black cloth descended over my eyes as we jolted to a halt. But I got it off. We were in a small, apparently deserted backwater, with older-established dwellings on one side, countryside on a second, and crude breeze-block hovels going up on a third.

Into one of these, it was clear, they wanted to drag me. I felt I would be done for once I was in there. I resisted, and yelled at the top of my voice, but with little enthusiasm as my neighbour, pistol in my side, hissed half in Arabic, half in broken English: "Shut up, shut up, or I kill you, I kill you now."

I redoubled my efforts as a man emerged from one of the houses. But, passing within three yards of this commotion, he made as if he did not see it. I thought it was going to be hopeless.

But then, or so it seems, my abductors began to cast anxious glances around. Perhaps my yelling was having some effect, and I think I more imagined than saw faces beginning to appear in windows and doorways.

I broke loose and ran 20 yards into an alley. There was little real pursuit, and no pistol shot from the rear. I believed I had made it, and 50 yards further on I was sure when, stumbling into a thoroughfare awakening to the new day, I hailed a passing taxi already slowing for this unexpected fare.

I had lost all the contents of my briefcase, my passport, driving licence, etc, and, above all, 10 years of accumulated telephone numbers.

But that was a small emotion compared to the relief and elation at this bizarre working of chance within mischance, so familiar to the inhabitants of this jungle-city. I knew how very lucky I was to be free and — very possibly alive.

Our man on the Middle East tightrope

AFTER absences of many moons, a short, abstracted looking man wanders through the Guardian to the foreign department. Word gets round that it's David Hirst, our Middle Eastern correspondent, but no one seems quite sure. It's difficult to equate this self-effacing academic with the burnoused figure of our imagination, whose peerless reporting has earned him curses, expulsion and respect in virtually every country in the region.

Stories of his exploits are legion. Six years ago he and two women were kidnapped in Beirut by armed men and taken to an abandoned apartment, where both women were raped and Hirst was threatened with execution before a blood-stained wall. His repeated assertions of friendship with PLO leaders probably saved the day: they were driven away and dumped in the street. It is said that, on learning of the incident, the PLO meted out justice to the offenders.

A colleague recalls Hirst showing him around Beirut harbour, a high security area, when the car broke down and Hirst was unable to produce his passport for a menacing policeman. "It was clearly a frightening situation. Hirst kept his head, chatted to the policeman and gave him a cigarette. The policeman finally called for assistance to push the car to safety."

Perhaps his closest shave was in Lebanon, when he was shelled by tanks commanded by Moshe Dyan's nephew, captured and sent to Israel, from where he made his way back to Lebanon. Another colleague, covering Nasser's funeral in Cairo, was amazed to spot Hirst on television, sandwiched in the official cortege between Haile Selassie and King Hussein. Hirst had wangled himself a ticket, alphabetically punched.

Now 50, Hirst has been on the Middle East tightrope since 1959. After National Service in Cyprus and an Oxford education he studied at the American University of Beirut before going freelance. Fluent in Arabic, he has covered most of the region's hairier episodes during the past 15 years for the Guardian. Leaders whom he has inevitably offended recognise in his reports an authority and uncompromising search for truth which is unequalled among Western correspondents.

One exception was the late President Sadat, who went on the Jimmy Young Show to castigate Hirst's despatches. His co-authored biography of Sadat compared him to another Shah. (Hirst has also written The Gun and the Olive Branch — a history of the PLO — and Oil and Public Opinion in the Middle East). He was recently readmitted to Egypt, but remains banned from Iraq and Saudi Arabia, and under a cloud in Syria.

Hirst is self-propelled, so his reluctance last week to file a story on his latest escapade was not unexpected. The foreign editor recalls Hirst's remark when asked to explain his non-coverage of an American ambassador's death in Beirut: "What is one death among so many?"

The tin miners march into history

As Bolivia suffers economic catastrophe and reverts to authoritarianism, James Dunkerley detects the stirrings of a new social revolt

ALONG the pot-holed and wind-swept road that runs across the Bolivian Andean plain from the mining town of Oruro to La Paz there are occasional crosses recording victims of traffic accidents. A new memorial due to be placed between the villages of Calamarca and San Antonio, some 40 miles from the capital, will not, however, mark the spot of an individual fatality on the unkempt highway. Instead, it will commemorate the point at which, on August 28, a peaceful protest march of 5,000 miners, their families and supporters was broken up at gunpoint by troops and tanks.

Although the leaders of the march were arrested, nobody was killed and there was little resistance from the exhausted and frightened marchers. The army had denied them food and medical attention for the last two days of their week-long protest against the dismantling of the state mining corporation, Comibol, by the conservative civilian government of Victor Paz Estenssoro. Nonetheless, some of the regime's opponents believe that the events of that Thursday were not just the latest in a string of clashes between miners and troops in Bolivian history but signalled the demise of the tin industry and very possibly that of the country's tenuous return to constitutionalism, begun in 1982 after 18 years of military rule.

Arguing that the march was part of a "subversive plan," for which no concrete evidence was presented, the 79-year-old Paz declared the second state of siege of his year-long government, suspended constitutional guarantees, imposed a curfew, and arrested some 170 union and opposition activists. This reversion to authoritarianism in a perpetually unsettled state was scarcely greeted with surprise abroad.

Moreover, the notable absence of coup rumours — largely because the army is unable to outflank Paz to the right on economic policy or public order issues — combined with the cautious response of a traditionally radical workers' movement were broadly interpreted to confirm the success of civilian conservatism in handling what is without doubt the most severe socio-economic crisis in the western hemisphere.

The Bolivian economy would be in dire straits whoever was in office. Dealt a terrible blow by the collapse of the International Tin Council in October of last year which accelerated the fall in tin prices and made most mines in the world unprofitable (including those in Cornwall), it was already as bankrupt as a sovereign state could be. As commodity prices slumped, the cost of the debt incurred in the heady days of the 1970s rose, and capital reinvestment in mining became a distant dream, the first half of the 1980s were marked by the collapse of the formal productive sector and widespread adoption of survivalist strategies by people well beyond the diminishing industrial labour force. According to the conservative figures released by the Central Bank, between 1980 and 1985 mineral production fell by nearly half, official exports by a third, GDP by 30 per cent and disposable national income by more still.

Indices of malnutrition and infant mortality are now far closer to those of the Sahel than of Argentina. Hyperinflation — officially at 9,000 per cent for 1985 but at one stage running at over 15,000 per cent — not only defeated conventional methods of economic management but also engendered an unending series of strikes and threatened a complete collapse of the social order.

Paz's MNR party came to office in August 1985 promising a sober response to the crisis and the re-establishment of national unity. The MNR's election was largely the result of tactical voting against its extreme right-wing opponent General Hugo Banzer, whose dictatorship (1971-78) was one of the fiercest in the country's history and responsible for contracting most of the debt. However, those who had voted for a statesman-like "middle way" were soon dismayed when, within days of his inauguration, the wily old populist formed an alliance with Banzer, adopted his Harvard-drafted neo-liberal economic programme, and suspended the constitution in order to begin an offensive on a state sector that covered nearly two thirds of the economy.

Inflation was indeed reduced but by the "demand management" expedient of freezing wages at a time when prices were still rising at over 100 per cent per month so that very few people could afford to buy basic necessities. Unemployment, already at an official level of 20 per cent, escalated further as public enterprises were broken up and production continued to contract.

With a miner's wage at £25 a month and that of a state-employed doctor at £40 (meat costs 75p per pound, an urban bus ride 20p), it is barely surprising that the one-sided "free market" has engendered a massive informal subsistence economy. According to economists Samuel Doria Medina and Rolando Morales this is now worth over $3 billion — more than the entire formal economy. Its most visible sign is the profusion of street peddling as petty commerce in unrestricted imports replaces production as the principal feature of the urban economy.

However, the largest and most publicised aspect of informal activity is the cocaine trade, worth perhaps $1 billion and directly or indirectly supporting one tenth of the economically active population. It is no exaggeration to say that in terms of both exports and domestic income Bolivia today depends upon cocaine for its survival. This is tacitly recognised by the regime which, true to its economic principles if not its moral proclamations, allows *narcotraficantes* to recycle their dollars through the Central Bank without hindrance whilst simultaneously inviting a force of 150 US troops to stage much celebrated raids on cocaine processing plants in the northern provinces.

A product of George Bush's presidential ambitions and inter-departmental rivalry within the US government, this noisy "collaborative operation" (six US helicopters and one Bolivian) has signally failed to decapitate the cocaine industry. After six weeks, Colonel John Taylor's troops had located seven deserted camps of the 35 listed for destruction by the DEA, captured not one gram of chlorohydrate, and detained one firm suspect — a 17-year-old passenger in a captured smuggler's aircraft whose pilot nimbly absconded into the jungle. Yet this showcase operation has succeeded in reducing the price of the (legal) cocaleaf cultivated by thousands of peasants from $125 to $25 a bale as well as raising fears of a future use of defoliants.



The miners protest.

The field-day being enjoyed by the proponents of neo-liberalism may be coming to a precipitate end. The dismantling of Comibol, immediate firing of 8,000 of its 20,000 workers, and imminent closure of schools and clinics provided by the corporation was designed both to offer the richest pickings to private capital and to destroy the miners' union. However, the "march for life" halted at Calamarca aroused considerable sympathy in the peasantry, which broke from sowing to applaud in unexpectedly large numbers at the roadside, as well as a middle class that is normally terrified by the miners' proclivity for exploding dynamite at boisterous radical meetings.

Loss of support in these two key areas of the government's constituency has been underlined by opposition from the conservative Church hierarchy and local civic associations. Moreover, the regime must now contend with broad antipathy to new sales and property taxes specificially designed by Price Waterhouse to pay off an unpopular foreign debt. So depleted is national income that extra fiscal pressure is far more likely to engender resistance than revenue. Many campesinos believe the property tax to be a ruse to deprive them of lands, and the atmosphere in the countryside is sufficiently tense that people travelling to rural communities often ask for credentials that show they are not working for the government.

Even inside the MNR and the US Embassy there are those concerned at the train of events in spite of the recent release of political prisoners and renewal of talks. On the day Comibol's closure was announced, 900 miners left the camps in search of work in lowlands. They have quit the union, and according to conventional wisdom are now outside the formal political exchange between right and leftwing organisations. Yet they have joined a rapidly expanding mass of angry and impoverished subsistence labourers for whom direct and perhaps violent action increasingly seems a viable option compared with futile bargaining within formally democratic structures. The orthodox Left is in retreat, and rumours of a coup are at a low ebb, but those of the influence of Sendero Luminoso growing across the border in Peru are noticeably more common than a year ago.

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What if the arms race really stops?

THERE could be an earthquake in the making. A Soviet-American accord in Washington during the autumn on intermediate-range missiles in Europe is now, suddenly, a strong possibility. Obviously it would impinge heavily on the British parties' defence policies, which is at least one reason, given Britain's crucial position in Nato, for the US to pursue it with some vigour. On the Soviet side the initial placing of medium-range missiles in Europe has always been an act of escalation which they have been embarrassed to defend, and their efforts to prevent the West from matching the systems they installed have met with failure. For Nato itself, acting collectively in Brussels, the old doctrine of ensuring that the US remains immediately linked to European defence has still to be satisfied, which is why, under the terms now being discussed, a reduced number of warheads (the likely total is thought to be 100) would remain on both sides. Militarily far fewer than that, or none at all, would preserve the balance, but they would not meet Nato's 1979 linkage requirements. One hundred warheads on each side still make a formidable array, and it is only the existence of 100 times as many as that in each of the superpowers' own strategic arsenals which makes so inflated a figure seem acceptable. Nonethless, this would be both a striking political agreement and the first actual cut in nuclear weaponry since build-up began.

Mr Gorbachev has made it clear that he is not going to the United States without an arms control agreement in the bag. That cannot possibly be achieved at intercontinental level in the time available. In dropping all demands relating to the British and French systems, including apparently a ban on the transfer of Trident technology from the US to Britain, he has simplified yet further what was essentially already a simple deal. If there is still an argument about how the Western missile force should be balanced between the cruise missiles in Britain and elsewhere and the Pershing ballistic missiles in Germany (which the Russians dislike most) it is elementary compared with the negotiation on strategic sub-systems which remains to be done in Geneva. Even so, it is hard to believe that Soviet interest in the huge uprating of the British deterrent which Trident would entail has disappeared for all time. Perhaps it will be raised again in the Geneva strategic context. Perhaps SS-20s will come trundling back if or when Trident becomes operational. In the meanwhile, though, if the terms outlined on page 7 approximate to an agreement, Mrs Thatcher can say with every superficial justification that her Trident programme is not holding up a European arms deal.

Where, then, does this leave the Opposition, and perhaps more specificially the Labour Party? How do Caspar Weinberger's dire forebodings about the break-up of the Nato alliance if Britain goes non-nuclear square with his own government's intention to do part of what Labour requires and disarm in Europe? For if the outlines are correct it seems that the Russians are not much concerned whether Britain unilaterally disarms or not (why should they be, given the huge disparity of forces?) and the argument that Britain would be contributing to a significantly lower nuclear arms total in Europe falls away. If the Russians have more than 200 three-warheaded SS-20s west of the Urals, and the existing American programme accounts for 572 warheads pointing the other way, and if these totals are both reduced substantially, Britain's 64-missile deterrent, deadly though it is in absolute terms, is a matter of relatively small moment about which the Kremlin does not propose to agitate itself. The deal as outlined does not destroy the CND argument about the basic immorality of all nuclear weapons and therefore of Britain's possession of them. But it does make it harder for a future British government to embark on a course which, at the least, would lead to the Nato Alliance being recast when the material rewards in terms of East-West stability would be so palpably small.

The deal is not yet signed and its full contents are not known. What is apparent is that for the time being the arms controllers in Washington have inched ahead of the cold warriors, and that position, though it may be temporary, could not have been foreseen. It is also evident that Gorbachev is interested more in the actuality of East-West coexistence that in the nuclear theorising which lies behind it and which so heavily preoccupied his immediate predecessors. This conjunction may mean that it is not a good time for the lesser members of Nato to complicate matters by revising their nuclear strengths either drastically upwards or drastically down. Mr Weinberger may have done himself more harm than good when he addressed the nation, and Mr Perle may be no more (though we doubt it) than the middle-ranking pipsqueak characterically so described by Mr Healey. It is easier, though, to pass over their interventions at a time when the Nitze school of arms control seems on the verge of getting results: when the earth, and much else, may be moving.

The motor of growth blows a gasket

IF the world wants to boost economic growth and break the dismaying spiral of unemployment then the leading nations must end the collective inertia which threatens to engulf them this week at the IMF in Washington. A year ago the Group of Five industrialised countries agreed to act in concert to reverse the overvaluation of the dollar which was threatening to unleash a tidal wave of protectionism. Since then the dollar has fallen by an average of 21 percent (ranging from 36 per cent against the yen to 6.4 per cent against the pound). This was long overdue, but not enough to restore the dollar's lost competitiveness, particularly against Germany and countries in the Far East. Mr Ronald Reagan recently managed (but only just) to veto yet more protectionist legislation in Congress (which now goes into recess, taking the heat off for a few months.) This interval needs to be used to engineer a further controlled fall in the dollar accompanied by simultaneous expansion by the stronger economies, particularly Japan and West Germany, which are sporting enormous trade surpluses and zero inflation rates. The US is walking a tight rope. If the dollar goes into free fall then interest rate will have to be raised even higher to attract funds thereby worsening the other major problem, the Budget deficit. It is at times like these that governments must avoid retreating into myopic self interest. They could start by reminding themselves just why the IMF was set up 40 years ago. It was to promote *international* stability, primarily in foreign exchange markets and in balance of payments transactions. If the short term self-interest of countries had coincided with international interest there would have been no reason to construct an IMF at all. The need for international co-ordination had never been greater than it is now because of the still smouldering debt situation, absurdly high interest rates, and because of the way vast sums of money undreamed of 40 years ago can move around the world instantly at the touch of a computer keyboard outside the power of any one country to control. Since last year's meeting at the Plaza Hotel in New York there has been nothing but the discordant sounds of everyone else passing the buck.

The excuse for doing nothing has been lent spurious weight by the recent (mild) recovery in the world economy. But this is merely due to the delayed impact of the fall in oil prices and will do little to reduce the unacceptably high level of unemployment, particularly in Europe (as last week's OECD report on employment prospects confirms). Countries on the receiving end of the oil price fall are merely beginning to spend the cash which the oil producers have involuntary forgone.

Unless America is to be forced into a destabilising recession (with all that that implies for the rest of the world in terms of reduced exports) then the stronger economies must take up the task of injecting demand into the world which the US has been doing almost singlehandedly. West Germany can no longer plead fear of inflation as reason for not expanding because the annual rate of inflation is actually negative and going down. Will they still be quoting inflation when prices are going *down* by five per cent? Nor can Japan plead caution when it is not only facing negative inflation (any month now) but also sporting a surplus of \$68 billion (£48 billion) on its trade with the rest of the world. What is the spirit of the IMF all about if not to take action when trade balances (or deficits) get too high?

August a bad month for trade

WE haven't heard much about trade deficits *lately. They were a national* obsession in the 1960s and early seventies, but the discovery of North Sea oil put paid to all that. Or so we thought. But the record deficit of £886 million on the August current account (trade in goods and services) is a sobering reminder that Britain's experience of surpluses may have been a brief sojourn before normal service is grimly resumed. There were, to be sure, special factors in August. But the figures are suggesting that the party may soon be over. The cumulative surplus in the first eight months of the year is now a slender £68 million. This makes the Government's Budget forecast of £3 billion surplus for the year highly unlikely. Worse, it makes the *National Institute's prediction of a £5.8* billion deficit in 1987 less far fetched than it may have seemed last month.

In the three months to August it was the old, familiar tale again. The volume of exports (excluding oil) was up by a creditable 2½ per cent. But import volume (again, excluding oil) shot up by 6 per cent. With oil (thanks to falling prices) no longer able to bridge the gap, the current account took the strain.

The North Sea oil bonanza was nature's gift to Mrs Thatcher. In 1978, Government oil revenues were only £238 million (in the financial year). They built up very strongly to a peak of £12 billion in 1984-85, before falling back to £11.4 billion in the last financial *year and a (forecast) £6.1 billion in* 1986-87. The oil won't disappear overnight. But production will steadily fall and unless prices recover their former strength, the North Sea's contribution will gradually erode.

And what, pray, is there to show for it? Since 1979 the annual growth in the economy has been barely 1.25 per cent a year. Manufacturing investment is still over 17 per cent below what it was then. There has been a consumer boom, to be sure: but that has disproportionately fed the factories of our competitors. Output of consumer goods is still, bizarrely, four per cent below what it was then. Britain, true enough, has recycled much of the oil revenues abroad. We now have net assets abroad of nearly £80 billion, of which part is oil money. That is no bad thing when great nations like the United States are sinking into debt. But where else are the fruits of the North Sea? In dilapidated infrastructure? In deprived schools? In depressed housing? In deteriorating industry? Or in 3 to 4 million unemployed? And worst of all, if all this has been happening during a once-and-for-all period of balance of payments surpluses (and claimed economic recovery) what on earth is going to happen when Britain sinks once more back into institutionalised trade deficits? It is difficult to believe that historians will look back on this period as the halcyon years. But, then we don't know what the next 10 years have in store.

Electing to do nothing

President Botha's indecision about an election, writes Stanley Uys, is typical of the current confusion in his party

PRESIDENT BOTHA'S leadership of South Africa has become a paradox. On the one hand, he is autocratically in control and brooks no opposition. On the other, he gives no leadership. Now 70, and clearly bewildered by the way things have turned out, he is being mocked for what is called the "headless chicken syndrome".

The cat-and-mouse game which Botha has been playing with the country over a general election is symptomatic *of the confusion in* the National Party. He apparently wants an election in November, others in his party want it in April, and yet others do not want it at all.

Botha has nothing to offer the country except an election. The parliamentary session which has just ended was a shambles, producing no reform legislation of any significance. The much-vaunted National Council, on which blacks would be invited to serve to discuss a new constitution for South Africa, did not get off the ground, and some Opposition politicians believe it never will.

The black opposition, like the ANC, PAC and Azapo, will not touch the council with a bargepole, and even "moderates" have backed off. Buthelezi admits he will be a dead duck if he serves on the council, and two organisations *long thought to be no more than a* collection of Uncle Toms, the black chamber of commerce (Nafcoc) and the urban black councils, have also said they cannot serve on the council until political prisoners are released. All Botha has left really are some homeland leaders and insignificant black councillors.

Botha is known to want to go out of politics on a note of triumph, but the best he can hope for is to call an election, restore some unity to his divided party, and then quit while the going is good.

If he calls a general election, it will be with the aim of reunifying his party, arresting the growth of the New Right, and signalling to the world that white South Africans are solidly behind him in their resistance to sanctions.

In all three of his aims Botha probably would have some success. The faction forming that has been taking place in his party would have to be suspended, or the culprits would be guilty of national betrayal; some brake would be put on the growth of the New Right; and the world would get the message that on sanctions South Africans, or at least most white South Africans, have formed a united front.

Botha's National Party has just won a parliamentary byelection at Klip River in Natal where the other candidate was a right-wing HNP man, supported by the right wing Conservative Party.

Opinion polls also show that NP support has climbed from 47 per cent in April to 52 per cent in September, and that the HNP-CP and Progressive Federal Party (the liberal official Opposition) are level pegging at about 16 per cent each. It is quite likely that in a three-cornered contest, many English-speaking PFP supporters would vote for the NP candidate to keep out the greater demon of the New Right. For the time being the sanctions issue is a winner.

The whole idea, however, of holding an election now shows how desperate Botha has become. The last white election was in 1981 and his five-year manadate expired this year; but elections were held in 1984 for the new Coloured and Indian chambers, and if parliament is to have any coherence, elections should be held now for all three chambers.

But the Coloured and Indian representatives certainly do not want another election so soon. In their communities they are widely regarded as being collaborators with apartheid — only 19.3 per cent of all potential Coloured voters and 17.9 per cent of all potential Indian voters bothered to cast votes in the 1984 *elections,* compared with 68 per cent of all potential white voters who cast votes in the 1983 referendum on the new constitution.

In the present troubled conditions in South Africa, with a nationwide state of emergency in force, the Coloured and Indian candidates would expose themselves to real physical risk from their own people.

Le Monde ENGLISH SECTION

The bishop and Abdallah

The French authorities seem in doubt over what line to take over the recent activities of Syrian-born Archbishop Hilarion Capucci, the former Greek-Catholic prelate of Jerusalem. The archbishop met Minister of Public Security Robert Pandraud twice, both before and after a long meeting with Georges Ibrahim Abdallah, the presumed leader of the FARL (Lebanese Revolutionary Armed Fractions) whose release is being sought by the terrorist group or groups responsible for the recent wave of bombings in Paris. Archbishop Capucci has said publicly that he was carrying out a mission. While sources at the Elysée have expressed surprise at the "exceptional facilities" given to the prelate, government spokesmen have denied that any kind of negotiation is in the air. Justice Minister Albin Chalandon expressed the hope that Abdallah would be brought to trial next February.

THOUGH it is not certain that Georges Ibrahim Abdallah will be tried as early as February, as the Justice Minister hopes, one thing is sure: the government does not want to hear any more talk about making deals. This had to be made clear after the shilly-shallying in July and what Socialist Party First Secretary Lionel Jospin described as Archbishop Capucci's "extravagant visit" to Abdallah in his Santé prison cell.

A "visit" not appreciated by the Elysée; it led to speculation that a deal might be in the offing and this the justice minister has tried to dispel. Archibishop Capucci does not consider however that he is on a "visit", but on a "mission" and believes that "negotiations" are under way.

The message Chalandon delivered was intended to show firmness. It was meant, he explained, to clear up "the poisonous atmosphere surrounding this case." You could have legitimately been mistaken. Justice has not always shown the determination that Chalandon exhibited when he disclosed that he had ordered the public prosecutor to ensure Abdallah is sent to trial. On the other hand, during the summer it was learned from a reliable source that the Paris prosecutor's office had been asked to examine under what conditions it might be ruled that Georges Ibrahim Abdallah had no case to answer.

That prospect became so real that the United States filed an application, through its lawyer Georges Kiejman, to be associated with the public prosecutor's case so as to try to prevent a nonsuit being declared.

Today, insisted Chalandon, the government had ruled out any idea of dropping the case. The public prosecutor, who is directly answerable to the Justice Minister, will do all in his power to see this does not happen. What is more, Chalandon has given the courts a tight schedule for bringing Abdallah to trial that it will doubtless not be followed: one month for winding up the legal investigation, plus the maximum of two months that the penal code gives to the court to hand down its decision.

Apart from the fact that the Justice Minister does not have the right — as was pointed out on Friday by Abdallah's lawyer Jacques Vergès — to impose time limits on the investigating magistrate, the latter will not as far as we know be able to complete his work in the coming month. The investigating magistrate in the case, Gillies Boulouque, is awaiting the findings of experts and other details. At least two months will be needed to prepare the brief, say Paris courthouse sources.

On the other hand, the two lawyers — Kiejman and Vergès — can step in to ask for explanations on any contentious issue. It is in the interests of Abdallah's lawyer, in particular, to delay proceedings. The code in fact allows him to do that: he can ask for expert reports and second opinions. Boulouque could refuse permission, but such a refusal could be submitted by Abdallah's lawyer to the presiding judge of the court of criminal appeal.

While it cannot be taken for granted that Vergès will take advantage of the undreamed-of possibilities offered by the code of criminal procedure, it is quite obvious it is not in his interest to have his client rushed to court for jury trial. Still reeling from the shock of the recent bombings, a jury would certainly give no quarter.

Georges Ibrahim Abdallah is accused of involvement in the 1982

By Bertrand Le Gendre

murders in Paris of two diplomats — *the Israeli Yaacov Barsimentov* and the American Charles Ray. While he has been questioned in his cell by the police concerning the recent attacks which have left nine dead and over 160 injured, it is not for this that he will be tried. But the wave of attacks will heavily influence a jury's decision.

And this is particularly true as Abdallah, unlike Anis Naccache whose release is also demanded by the bombers, refuses to condemn the attacks.

If he faces a jury trial, Abdallah is likely to be gaoled for life. Even if he is given one or several ten-year terms of imprisonment, he could not in that case be eligible for parole, except in the event — highly improbable in the present circumstances — of a presidential pardon.

Chalandon's statement needs to be assessed in the light of this. If Boulouque and the court of criminal appeal carry out the minister's wishes, then it will bar any possibility of a deal. Sentencing Abdallah might also at the same time set off a new wave of bombings. Chalandon evidently weighed that risk when he spoke up.

Yet Adballah does have a defence. It is not just Vergès who says so, while pointing out triumphantly that nothing has happened since July to strengthen the case. Others who have been able to examine it carefully and objectively agree.

The charge of involvement in an assassination is based on the discovery of an automatic pistol in one of Abdallah's Paris hideouts: a pistol which was used to kill the two diplomats. This is both much and too little as far as legal proof is concerned.

To cut short the details, it must be known that an "accomplice" can be convicted only if he is shown to have "taken part in the action or given instructions for carrying it out." Or if "he procured the weapons or any other means that helped in the action knowing it was to be used in it." Or again if he helped "the principal author in preparing and carrying out" the crime.

In the present state of the case, nothing of the sort can be held against Abdallah. On Friday, the Justice Ministry was reduced to shifting the debate to another ground, that of common sense: "He does not deny his role in the FARL. Now the FARL claimed responsibility for the assassinations of the two diplomats. So Abdallah is involved in these assassinations." The only point is that such a presentation is legally speaking not very sound. Lawyer Vergès will certainly not fail to point it out.

The fact is the law blundered early in July at Abdallah's first trial in Lyons, and it is very difficult to repair the damage today. Information highly damaging to him had been collected on facts which cannot be reintroduced in court now. This is laid down in legal procedure, and the blunder will weigh heavily at the jury trial.

At Lyons Abdallah faced ten years in gaol. The prosecutor's office, which Chalandon now wants to show firmness, asked for and got four. This blunder will have to be remembered if Verges succeeds, as well he might, in getting the court to give his client a minimum sentence or even — contrary to the justice minister's wishes — to rule he had no case to answer.

(September 28/29)

Tension in Togo

MANY heads of states in Africa tend to say nothing and accuse the foreign press of "exaggerating" when assailed by problems at home or abroad. This is not true of General Gnassingbé Eyadema of Togo who, like the good soldier he is, personally took part in hunting down the commando unit that sneaked into the country on the night of September 23/24 to attack the military camp where he was staying. In fact on the morning of September 24, the Togolese embassy in Paris drew the media's attention to this event, while the general received the diplomatic corps posted in Lomé to explain what had happened. Togo considers it has been the victim of a foreign plot and intends to let the world know it.

The ambassadors were shown an entire arsenal of Soviet-made weapons. Eyadema assured them Togo was a "peaceful country" and would "simply *defend itself*", but he did not name the aggressor. Official Togolese sources, however, explained that among the seven killed were two Ghanaian NCOs. Lomé remained calm and links with the outside world were never cut off, but the border with its English-speaking neighbour, Ghana, was closed. Accra accused the Togolese army of having "fired indiscriminately on (Ghanaian) border guards conducting an anti-smuggling operation".

Once again a running quarrel has broken out between "progressive" Lieutenant Jerry Rawlings and pro-Western General Eyadema, who has embarked on a no-nonsense economic policy with the International Monetary Fund's approval. There have been countless charges and counter-charges and border incidents against a backdrop of tribal hatreds and ideological bickering. This border, fixed when the former German colony of Togo was carved up at the end of World War I (a third went to the former British Gold Coast, and two thirds to French Togo) allows smuggling and infiltration to continue. The border is quite real in Lomé, where it deprives the Togolese capital of a part of its suburban districts, but becomes blurred as soon as it reaches the rural areas.

The Ewés, who live in the south of the country, have not forgiven General Eyadema for the death of former President Sylvanus Olympio in the January 1967 putsch organised by young officers from the north who brought Eyadema to power. Olympio's family, which has its supporters abroad, took refuge in Ghana and is still seeking to avenge what it describes as an assassination. This time substantial resources were deployed by the attackers. Six civilians, including a West German national, were killed in the fighting.

But Lomé is currently also experiencing *an insidious* terrorism. Last year several explosions caused casualties. The first bomb went off in August 1985 a few days before Pope John Paul II's visit. The latest attack came before a summit meeting of French-speaking countries due to be held in November in Lomé, as if Eyadema's enemies were still trying to damage, at just the right time, the reputation he is trying to give Togo as an "African Switzerland".

Every one of the attempts to destabilise the country was followed by ruthless repression, which leads his exiled opponents to say they are simply "provocative acts" engineered by the government to get rid of its opponents. Since the Togolese President is calling on world opinion to bear witness to unfriendly acts against his country, he would be well advised not to lay himself open to criticism by new violations of human rights in his search for accomplices in the country.

(September 26)

Lebanese fear loss of French connection

EAST BEIRUT — This is a land where you can count on the unexpected, where the impossible is probable and the improbable certain. Here are Lebanese Christians who are now expressing their fears of — France. They are used to car bombs that can always blow up when children are on their way to school, stray shells and bad news which slyly arrive to dampen good spirits when things seem to be taking a slight turn for the better. This gallery of adversaries, Shi'ite, Palestinian and Druze militamen, and terrorists here and everywhere has now been swelled by a worrying pair — Pasqua and Pandraud.

Rumours are rife here: they are frisking Lebanese travellers and going through their luggage with a fine-tooth comb. The Interior Ministry is preparing "measures". The French sanctuary is going to be sealed off. "France, monsieur," sighed a doctor who has more than shown he is not afraid of bullets, "is our hinterland. Even if we have no intention of going there, we know it's there and that its doors are open to us. So if it shuts its doors . . . !"

"Hope the rear holds out," World War I French soldiers used to say half jokingly, half seriously. This is in Lebanese minds now. When they know you're from Paris, in every conversation someone will say, not very convincingly: "You're not going to abandon us, are you?" Or someone will express the pious hope: "Chirac has solid nerves, at least?" For in this country where it is not spitballs that are fired at officers, gloating goes down very badly. If the Lebanese felt like it, they would laugh out of court Charles Pasqua's promise to "terrorise the terrorists". As for visiting "ruthless punishment on the assassins and those who are manipulating them", as Prime Minister Chirac vowed . . .

The distress is genuine. The reason for it is that eight out of ten of the 70,000 French Lebanese are Christians — the Muslims are moreover beginning to join them in appreciable numbers. This overseas community is generating a constant supply of travellers, a

By Paul-Jean Franceschini

perpetual coming and going, a volume of visas so substantial that the French embassy in Beirut has — with some difficulty — got Paris to extend the validity of visas for two years so as to reduce the incessant applications for renewal.

There are fears about everything: residence permits, visits to children, harassment, the bad reputation clinging to the Lebanese passport. Travel, already costly and not very easy, is likely to become more difficult still. The plummeting Lebanese pound is putting stays abroad out of reach for those who do not have incomes in foreign currency.

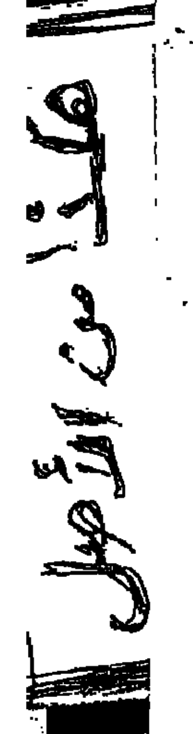
And then, even without wanting to pluck the sentimental chord which goes down so well in the Orient, the Lebanese have been truly affected, grieved and in some cases stunned by the wave of terrorism which has struck us. The very evening that Colonel Gouttierre was assassinated, the French ambassador was invited to dine in town — to show he was not going to be intimidated, that he would not be cancelling appointments. It was a strange and unforgettable scene: gentlemen in ties and ladies in ceremonial attire watching from the broad 7th floor terrace of the Achraffieh the bodyguards moving about the bullet-proofed vehicles.

The ambassador could not quite hide his emotion but went about his task of reassuring the guests about his and his country's resolve. "I've had some shattering news," he told us, and his eyes clouded over for reasons unconnected with *the diplomatic proprieties.*

For these Christian Lebanese love France in an old-fashioned sort of way which may make one smile, but the fact is there. They cannot bear the thought of seeing France plunged in grief, anxious and weak. They hardly believe it could resist the blackmail for long — and they say it with a sort of indulgence that is touching. The day before that Saturday, where for the first time half of East Beirut was paralysed by a "sackcloth-and-ashes strike" (for the assassinated French military attaché), housewives went about stocking up supplies and car owners filled up their tanks. Nobody for a moment thought the strike in support of Paris might fizzle out.

The Lebanese hold much the same views as to who is responsible for the terrorism. Iran and Syria are pointed out, but people are asking questions about their cooperation. The more reasoned

Continued on page 12



France and the Middle East — honesty is the best policy

Apart from Jean-Marie Le Pen's hard right Front National, all of France's political parties have joined in backing the measures taken by the government of Jacques Chirac to combat terrorism. First Secretary Lionel Jospin pointed out that the government was "lucky to have the benefit of a very responsible Opposition, which we did not have." Socialists, however, increasingly wonder about the connection between what Jospin describes as Chirac's "hesitant" policy in the Middle East and the recent terrorist blitz in Paris. Other leading members of the ruling majority keep saying that France's position has been made difficult by the commitments the previous Socialist government made during the negotiations which helped to obtain the release in April 1985 of the French diplomat Gilles Peyrolles after he was kidnapped in Lebanon. Allegations that the Socialists had done a deal were denied by former foreign minister Roland Dumas.

DOES FRANCE still have the will and the means for pursuing a Middle East policy? Should it even continue to have one?

Provocative questions, but highly relevant ones even if they have been studiously avoided by politicians both of the ruling majority and the Opposition. It takes real determination, however, to spot only a few trees and not see the obvious forest. France is at war not only with four or five brothers and their cousins in neighbouring villages. True, the Kobayat clan is by no means as innocent as it claims to be, but it is only the visible tip of a convergent alliance of interests and conflicting passions whose ultimate goal is to eliminate all Western influence in the region.

Can France still stand up to these forces which are in full expansion? Is it prepared for it? Would the venture make any sense?

Things have unmistakably got off to a bad start. True, the opponents of French influence in the Middle East have taken the risk of triggering a national reflex of unity by carrying terrorism into France. But their perception of our country prompts them to believe this will doubtless be no more than a passing phase. A few more atrocities, they tell themselves, and the fine resolutions emerging in the latest opinion polls will fizzle out. Isolationism is not an exclusively North American reaction. And particularly as it is neither an easy nor obvious thing to explain to people why France should go on maintaining its presence in a turbulent region when bombs are exploding at home.

Besides, hasn't the retreat already sounded? Face was only barely saved in 1983 in the case of the intervention force following the Drakkar bombing. True, the United States made the first move by pulling out.

Since then, the adversary has not stopped scoring points. Three months ago Paris was forced to evacuate diplomats, teachers and doctors from West Beirut so as not to offer too many French nationals as hostages. A few days ago, French military observers were withdrawn from the divided capital. From being arbiters, they had become targets. Soon, it will be the turn of the French contingent in UNIFIL to pull out, unless it is decided to make them live underground, that is condemn them to a role that serves no useful purpose. Our representatives are not even safe in East Beirut since our military attaché was assassinated.

At this rate, what will be left of the French presence in Lebanon? Not much, certainly. Perhaps a few of those cultural centres and educational establishments amidst the beleaguered Maronites which in 1984 Syrian President Hafez el Assad told François Mitterrand he was prepared to tolerate when the French head of state, forgetting rather too quickly the assassination of Ambassador Louis Delamare, lauded him on his non-support of terrorism. But wouldn't even this be too much for Shia extremists for whom the only acceptable republic is an Islamic one?

By Jacques Amalric

Given this disastrous situation, how important are a few terrorists held in our prisons? Should they continue to be held if the West has been irrevocably rejected over there? We will shortly have to expect to hear such assertions in the form of questions. They were already being heard not so long ago among Prime Minister Jacques Chirac's aides before any blood was spilt in Paris.

There was in fact nothing very surprising about that. Apart from that old French contradiction — it goes back at least to Valéry Giscard d'Estaing — of claiming to have a historic role in the Middle East while simultaneously giving in to the temptation of negotiating and coming to terms with terrorism. The terrorists quickly realised the advantage they could draw from it. And when the French "sanctuary" was denied them, they first seized French hostages in Lebanon before deciding that every Parisian was a potential hostage.

The trap is all the more fiendish as the adversary never reveals his identity. So the jockeying goes on to display the most grief over the victims, even if this means having to defer to the public wrath and will. This is clearly noticeable in the long drawn-out normalisation of our relations with Iran which was initiated under the previous government and is being doggedly pursued under Chirac's administration. The whole thing reeks of what can only be described as hypocrisy: you begin to wonder whether the real aim of the Iranians and their accomplices is not simply to humiliate France.

Be that as it may, the fact is Syria and Iran will have soon attained their goals in Lebanon insofar as France is concerned. The two countries will doubtless then fall out considering how far apart their respective plans for Lebanon are. At any rate Iran will have one more task to complete — put an end to France's policy towards Iraq.

We may today cavil about the validity of this policy to which Chirac made no small contribution when it was forged. We can — and should — ask questions about the flaws of President Saddam Hussein's regime. Nevertheless, the fact is that in its potential consequences the Iran-Iraq war far outweighs the Arab-Israeli conflict. If Iran wins, then the entire balance of power in the region will be altered.

What will France's response to this new challenge be, especially if it is backed up by further seizures of hostages, by new acts of terrorism? Do our leaders seriously think that France, which is one of Iraq's biggest suppliers of arms, will be spared for a long time by a regime whose messianism is threatening to engulf the region? Obviously, it is not our timid proposals to hold an international "forum" on the Middle East nor our guarded restatements of the Palestinian people's right to self-determination which will suffice to pacify people who do not accept the existence of Israel.

The worst is perhaps still to come. And if we want to prepare the public to stand up to it, it is better not to hesitate to tell them the truth.

(September 25)

Damascus angered by anti-Syrian media campaign

By Françoise Chipaux

DAMASCUS — "We're deeply distressed by the attitude of some French media which are trying to establish a link between the terrorist attacks in Paris and Syria," said Syrian Foreign Minister Farouk Al Chara. Solemn and determined to be convincing on a subject on which he had clearly set his heart, the minister did not mince any words in hitting back at the current "anti-Syrian campaign" in which Syria is accused of being behind the recent wave of terrorist attacks in Paris. "The only explanation for it," he told me, "is that there are a few groups determined to damage the friendly and trusting relations now existing between Paris and Damascus."

"For the first time there is a sort of political consensus in Paris in favour of maintaining the good relations which have been built up since President Mitterrand's visit to Damascus in 1984. M Chirac encouraged and expanded these relations so they may become even more constructive and friendly. This is inconvenient for all those who would like to give the Arabs, and Syria in particular, a negative image in the Arab-Israeli conflict."

As proof of this Chara pointed to the fact that Syrian condemnations of terrorism do not receive the publicity he said they deserve. He pointed out that Syria's very strong condemnation of the assassination of the French military attaché in Beirut and the attacks on UNIFIL soldiers were not given wide publicity in France. "We're not in the habit of putting out communiqués at the drop of a hat," he said. "Now we condemned this attack very firmly an hour after we heard about it. I think ours was the only country in the world to have published such a communiqué."

While protesting frequently that he wanted to say nothing that would in any way affect French-Syrian relations, Chara implicitly criticised the action of the French police: "We have no intention of telling the French government what to do. We don't have the right to do that, but it is in its interest to examine the context and discover the identity of the real terrorists, instead of giving credence to assumptions and phone calls claiming responsibility that anyone can make."

The Syrians are clearly sceptical about the Abdallah angle and are suggesting that the news conference given by Maurice Ibrahim Abdallah and his brother Robert Ibrahim Abdallah should be sufficient proof to absolve them of direct involvement in the recent terrorist attacks in Paris.

Pointing out that Syria itself has been the victim of "criminal terrorist actions" — recent bomb explosions in buses have killed 150 and injured another 150 or more persons — Chara said: "Syria knows from experience what terrorism is. When we were victims, as France is today, we received messages claiming responsibility; but we never took them seriously. We asked no country to publish communiqués condemning these acts. We endeavoured to find an answer to the one question that mattered — who stood to gain by such acts? The important thing is to discover the real terrorists, not to indulge in speculation."

Chara agreed that the recent attacks against French soldiers in UNIFIL were not Israel's work. But, he said: "We are convinced the Hezbollahs will change their attitude if UNIFIL is deployed along the border. What they say today is that UNIFIL in fact is ensuring Israel's security against the Lebanese national resistance and that they have a right to resist the occupation right up to the international border. In any case, our position is clear: we are against the attacks fomented against UNIFIL and we agree with Mr Perez de Cuellar's report which accused Israel of responsibility for the tension in southern Lebanon.

"I ask again, who stands to gain from committing terrorist acts against UNIFIL and French civilians in Paris? Syria is just as serious in its struggle against terrorism as it is in its support of the national resistance. This is why we don't want to be bracketed with terrorism; this is also why we have done everything possible in Lebanon to have the hostages freed. We have had successes in a few cases and setbacks in others."

What were the reasons for the setbacks? "The situation in Lebanon is confused and highly involved," said Chara. "It's not easy to come up with results, when even in an organised country like France you are having problems finding the real terrorists. True, our president has said Syria has influence and a presence in Lebanon. But Syria does not govern Lebanon."

Pressed to say whether he thought Iran was not working against Syria in Lebanon, Chara would only say it was Israel, by its refusal to withdraw from southern Lebanon, and "its extremist agents trying to set up a Christian state who have spawned the extremists on the other side."

Considering that terrorist acts could also be the work of groups not always subject to governmental control, Chara went back to the charges made in Paris against his country. He conceded that, notwithstanding Syria's wish to maintain "solid relations with Paris, if the anti-Syrian campaign continued, it could affect relations between the two countries. We are convinced this campaign couldn't possibly continue without the complicity of certain services in the French government. If it continues, we could conclude that, despite a free press, the French government is letting things take their own course for reasons of its own. We ask to be treated the way ordinary offenders are treated under French law: a suspect is presumed to be innocent. If proof of guilt exists, let it be shown to us. If not, let there be no more of these serious charges."

(September 24)

Lebanese fear loss of French link

Continued from page 11

view, especially coming from a former minister whose clear-headedness has turned him into an unofficial oracle, holds that Tehran has given Damascus a junior role which the Syrians have accepted unwillingly, not to say, "against their own interests". "Abdallah or no Abdallah," he said, "these people don't always ask Syria for its opinion and it is forced to cover them. Iran is alone in wanting to really humiliate and blackmail France; it is in the process of cornering its ally and leading it where it does not want to go." As for the Abdallah clan's direct responsibility in the latest terrorist actions, there is general scepticism.

This is a strange Christian "redoubt" increasingly isolated from the rest of the world but bubbling with initiative and a vitality that has remained intact. Monstrous bottlenecks still build up at weekends when to reach the "chalets" — the marinas on the coast — you have to run the gauntlet of the redoubtable "tunnel". The fall of the Lebanese pound has hurt badly. But Lebanese ingeniousness has managed to turn it to advantage. Industries that were once nipped in the bud by imports are starting up again. Everybody is looking around to produce anything that could be sold cheaply abroad. Someone will tell you, like a good joke told at the expense of adversity, the story of the friend who is inundating the United States with shirts or the relative who is exporting luxury articles right down to the prestigious name tags. The trade in locally made Italian shoes and French perfumes has never been so good.

The fall in the local pound has also had another unexpected effect. Munitions are bought for foreign currency and they have become horrendously expensive. So much so that gunners think twice before pulling the trigger and there is distinctly less indiscriminate shelling. As a young militiamen told me disconsolately: "On the dividing line between the sectors, our leaders now count the bullets they distribute to us . . ." The civil war is also feeling the austerity pinch.

To reach East Beirut, Christians — except a few rash ones — do not use the airport situated to the west which is now said to be dangerous. They often jib at going via Damascus. There remains the boat which shuttles daily between Cyprus and Jounieh. The other day, in the main lounge of the Empress, as it left Larnaca, foreign reporters looked on aghast as young blonde women croupiers prepared the card and roulette tables, while passagers taking it easy prepared for an all-night spree. An indecent way of returning to the martyred homeland? All in all, it was a comforting, heartening sight. People who have the capacity for organising a poker game on the sinking Titanic will survive any shipwreck.

(September 26)

Despite public apathy privatisation is a major break with the past

THE PRIVATISATION of nationalised industries is evoking little interest among the French public. Except in one case — the television channel TF 1 — the general feeling is that "it will change nothing".

A change of stockholders is, however, never without having an effect. And, especially, when it is a change from collective to private ownership of capital the switch becomes a real break. The "employer-state" can apparently behave like any other employer, but it is quite different because of its other political and economic functions. The stake involved in the current privatisations is therefore considerable.

The first reason stems from the vast scale of the government programme: 65 enterprises, which happen to be the most powerful in *their sector, to be privatised over a* period of five years. From the Compagnie Générale de l'Electricité (CGC) to Bull, from the Crédit Lyonnais to Paribas, from the Union des Assurances de Paris (UAP) to the Mutuelles du Mans, they are all big names in French industry, banking and insurance. The deal should involve a sum of about F40 billion a year, compared with the F65 billion in stock issued on the Bourse (Paris stock exchange) in 1985 (the figure is expected to reach F80 billion this year). British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher's privatisation list was only a third as long. Which goes to show how ambitious, doubtless overweeningly ambitious, the present government is.

The second reason runs deeper. If the government is to be believed, the object of the operation is to make a clean break with the practice of joint ownership of French industry which has prevailed since — and even before — the war, and bring French capitalism into line with international, say American-style, standards. Postwar reconstruction called for a Keynesian policy of public ownership. De Gaulle himself nationalised Renault, gas and electricity and a part of credit. Having proved its worth by giving the country 30 years of "glorious" growth, the policy has now become a straitjacket.

Denationalisation, together with lower taxes and a degree of deregulation in the areas of prices, currency exchange and competition — the whole forming the three parts of the government's liberal policy — should lead to less government which in turn will quicken initiative and encourage growth. That is the goal.

The privatisations are a part of a *package of measures inspired by* the "liberal revolution". The plan is to make sweeping modifications to a whole range of mechanisms in the French economy which are thought to be damaging to it and ultimately responsible for the crisis.

Privatisation in particular should provide an opportunity for giving enterprises a free hand in their social, monetary and industrial policies. The appointment by the businesses, political directives businesses, political directives aimed at heading off lay-offs and refusals to allow an industry to relocate or join up with another — practices that confuse and distort market forces — should in theory disappear with the state's withdrawal from the marketplace.

It is not a policy peculiar to France. It is being pursued in various degrees in most developed countries and in some developing countries, such as Brazil. It may be regarded as an ideological victory of liberalism. This is doubtless right, but you cannot help noting that the moment is historically opportune. Unenterprising and overcautious and attracted by investment in real estate, those who had capital held on to it in the early '70s while the investing was done by the nationalised industries. Which accounted for the nationalisations.

Since then governments have all

by Eric Le Boucher

been pursuing austerity policies which prevent them from properly fulfilling their duties as stockholders. In contrast to this, all the financial markets have been helped by an upward movement whose origins are varied, but it draws attention to the mass of privately held capital in search of investment opportunites. Besides, the French Socialists themselves took the measure of this when they put "stocks" of publicly owned enterprises on the Bourse beginning in 1983. Private capital in turn came to prop up public capital which was often insufficient, and even unavailable.

Once inevitable, not to say necessary, from that moment, privatisation stopped being being resisted by employees, trade unions and the Socialists, except for form's sake. A consensus was established, leaving out only the Communists.

There remains the question of judging the pace of privatisation. The difficulty here is to make sure that the withdrawal of public supervision will in fact help industry and the French economy, in short, to make sure that less government will mean more market forces. Now, contrary to the liberals' theoretical ideas, the connection is far from automatic in *the reality of things, especially in* France and for three reasons.

The first has to do with French capitalism, whose features are linked to a family past which have not all disappeared. Going back to such self-regulatory practices in businesses run by capitalists not having the capital they possessed in the '70s is therefore very risky.

The second arises from the delay in restructuring industries. It is only now that banks are becoming involved in the modernisation process. Industrial firms have not yet, on an average, reached profit levels comparable with those of their foreign competitors. So the risks involved are many. Will such companies become targets for foreign takeover bids as President Mitterrand and Raymond Barre have pointed out? On the other hand, will enterprises earmarked for privatisation but are still in state hands be able to count on government support for carrying out takeovers inside or outside *France?*

The final reason has to do with the "specialisation" of the French economy. Apart from the odd case, its strong points happen to be in areas where there is very heavy government intervention — armaments, telecommunications, nuclear industry . . .

Making a clean break with "mixed" capitalism without weakening the productive fabric becomes very difficult in such conditions. If the government does not flank its withdrawal from capital with a new policy on the lines of what is being done in the United States, offering tax incentives to investor, defining major research goals like the SDI, helping to create new businesses and supporting their growth, that is, if it does not also promote more market forces, then less government will not be enough

(September 23)

PANCHO

Balladur the auctioneer . . . by Pancho.

ALAIN RESNAIS'S latest film, "Mélo", *which was shown at this year's Venice Film* Festival and released in France on September 3, is based on a play by the little-known French playwright, Henry Bernstein. First staged in 1929 at the Théâtre de Gymnase in Paris, with a cast that included Gaby Morlay, Charles Boyer and Pierre Blanchar, "Mélo" is typical, with its elegant turns of phrase and high society badinage, of the so-called "boulevard" theatre of the period. But behind the glitter there is a cutting edge, and behind the apparent anachronism a great modernity of emotions.

The characters form the usual triangle: Romaine, known as Maniche, a petite, attractive and rather boring woman who is married to a second-rate pianist, falls madly in love with Marcel, a brilliant violinist who attended the Paris Conservatoire at the same time as Pierre. Blinded by passion, Maniche tries to poison her husband. But she cannot bring herself either to carry through or to admit to such an appalling crime. She prefers suicide.

Broken-hearted, Pierre keeps faith in her until, three years later, he is suddenly wracked by doubts and suspicions. He begs his friend to tell him exactly what kind of relationship he had with Maniche, but Marcel reveals nothing; and the two of them are reconciled again as they play Johannes Brahms's "G Major Sonata for Violin and Piano" and allow their thoughts to linger affectionately on the memory of the woman who deserted them.

Resnais, never more at home than when stealthily entering the universe of a writer (Jean Cayrol in "Muriel", Marguerite Duras in "Hiroshima Mon Amour" and Alain Robbe-Grillet in "L'Année Dernière à Marienbad", for example), has this time opted for a faithful and uncomplicated rendering of Bernstein's work. As a result, the film's emotional content slowly but surely grips the spectator by the throat until the tears flow — a rare event nowadays in the movies.

Although the film follows the original faithfully, the Resnais touch is everywhere in evidence: in Jacques Saulnier's sets, which are a masterpiece of meticulous authenticity; in the combination of rigour and flexibility with which the camera movements accompany, highlight or anticipate emotional developments; in the inspired sobriety of Maniche's suicide, one of the most moving such moments ever suggested in the cinema (night, a wall, steps, dark water); but above all in the performance of the four actors, Fanny Ardant, Sabine Azéma, Pierre Arditi and André Dussoller (who all also appeared in Resnais's previous two films, "La Vie Est un Roman" and "L'Amour à Mort").

Alain Resnais: a cutting edge behind the glitter

I arranged to meet Resnais in the bar of the luxury Paris hotel, the Plaza-Athénée, one of those extraordinarily discreet, anonymous, smart and dignified places that Resnais finds so congenial. He turned up wearing his usual beige trench-coat, which was neither well-worn nor brand new. He had left home early that morning to check up on the quality of the projection in the various Paris cinemas where "Mélo" was about to be released.

Resnais had a cold, and ordered tea with lemon. As always in hotel bars of that kind, there was an obsequious "Sorry sir, the machine isn't working". Resnais frowned — in his case, the greatest possible manifestation of irritation.

Then he opened a rather old and battered briefcase and pulled out a gleaming thermos flask: "Oh that doesn't matter, I've brought my tea with me." A picnic in a swish bar: it was a nice scene that might have come straight out of a Resnais film.

Why did you deliberately choose to adapt Henry Bernstein's play for the screen?

All my films have grown out of a combination of chance and necessity. I've never in my life taken a finished screenplay along to a producer, it's always been the other way round. That's why I describe all my films as commissioned films. But once they have been commissioned I insist on absolute freedom to make them as I wish.

I was working on a project with Milan Kundera and trying to keep to a budget of 10 million francs (about £1 million). But however hard we tried we couldn't hammer out a script that would have cost less than three times that amount to shoot. So I reluctantly dropped the project. It's always a great shame when a film falls through.

Then Fanny Ardant said to me: "In the meantime, why don't you put on a play, and why not a play by that man Bernstein you're always talking about?" It's true that from 1936 on I attended the first performances of all his plays. All except "Le Bonheur", that is.

I couldn't resist the pleasure of going to the theatre to watch people like Claude Dauphin, Renée Devillers, Gaby Morlay and Victor Francen. I could never persuade anyone to come along with me, but anyway I was always thrilled by his plays. Afterwards I could never understand why — not that that mattered.

Sacha Guitry liked to quote a critic's remark about an actor in one of his plays: "He has such power as a comedian that it is almost impossible not to find him funny." Guitry added: "Why shouldn't one find him funny?" The critic was simply ashamed of having a good laugh; I've never been ashamed of my emotions.

I liked the idea of putting on a play by Bernstein, but most of the actors I wanted (the ones who are in the film) were already in long-running plays. The idea of making a film of the play — feasible because the actors were free during the day — was first mentioned by me simply as a joke. But Marin Karmitz took me up on it.

I wanted to start straight away. With a courage rare among film producers, Karmitz agreed to go ahead without waiting to see if he could get further backing from coproduction agreements, television or state subsidies (in the form of an advance on takings).

But he set his own conditions, of course: the budget would not go above seven million francs (about £700,000), and shooting would have to be done in 20 days instead of the usual 70. Florence Malraux [Resnais's wife and first assistant] worked out a shooting schedule that came to 21½ days.

We didn't quite keep to it — we took 23. But it was a pretty good effort.

Weren't they a little put off by Bernstein's language?

I don't know how "Mélo" will be received. But I can tell you that we made the film out of love, and not

Interview by Danièle Heyman

out of some perverse penchant for old-fashioned drama; we also decided, unanimously, not to attempt any distancing effects. We had great fun imagining all the elegant and clever devices that I could have used in the film — montage sequences including newsreels, an evocation of the rise of Nazism in Germany, or the arrival of a noiseless Delage limousine at the steps of a private mansion. We didn't do any of that.

Bernstein is not highly regarded nowadays. But one has to be careful: the ink with which history is written often changes colour. The first major article praising the films of Robert Bresson was written by Sacha Guitry. And who do you think scornfully dismissed "Citizen Kane" as "a ridiculous film made by pseudo-intellectuals who want to ape Europe?" None other than Jean-Paul Sartre.

Anyway you've always liked melodrama, haven't you?

Yes, and music hall too. "Hiroshima Mon Amour" was constructed around Edith Piaf. And I love serialised novels as well — you know, for ages I've wanted to adapt "The Adventures of Harry Dickson" for the screen.

When I suggested to an American producer that he make a film version of "Conan", he laughed in my face and said: "That's for the elite." Subsequent events proved him wrong. But perhaps my version of "Conan" wouldn't have been a box-office success.

That's why I'm a great admirer of Steven Spielberg: he has succeeded in bringing my dreams true. I had begun working on an imaginary life of the Marquis de Sade with an American artist, Jim Streranko. It was Streranko that Spielberg got to design the cursed temple in "Indiana Jones".

Does the fact that "Mélo" was shot on a shoestring make you less worried than you might have been about its box-office performance?

I always pull in roughly the same audiences. But 20 years ago my films used to be released in only two or three cinemas. Nowadays, to attract the same number of filmgoers they have to be shown in anything up to 20 cinemas. That works out more expensive, as each print costs 10,000 francs (about £1,000).

I can usually rely on between 150,000 and 300,000 spectators in Paris. For a film-maker, that's rather a dangerous position to be in. I did better only once, with "Mon Oncle d'Amérique", which had very bad reviews.

No, sorry, "Stavisky" also topped the 300,000 mark. After the way it was butchered at the Cannes Film Festival — there's no other word — that wasn't too bad, though the presence of Jean-Paul Belmondo helped. People refused to forgive me for not having made a historical film. The distributors threatened to withdraw their backing unless the title "Stavisky" was used. I'd have preferred "L'Empire d'Alexandre", "Le Tombeau d'Alexandre", or, better even, "Biarritz Bonheur".

(September 3)

No holds barred in the factional fight behind Khomeini

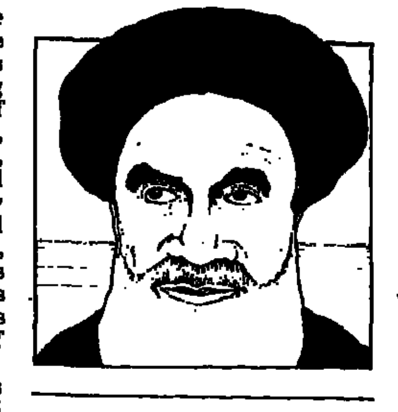
THE Tehran daily, Risalat, has become the mouthpiece of the traditional religious right. In an interview, rather curiously claimed to have been given to Le Monde's "special correspondent" on June 11, 1986 — when in fact no member of this newspaper has been allowed to enter Iran since March 1984 — Ayatollah Azeri Qomi, the new leader of the traditionalists, drew up in Risalat a list of the differences between the two sides. In his view, the disagreements are not limited to economic issues as Hojatoleslam Rafsanjani declares, but extend also to the way in which the religion is interpreted, the attitude towards the government, teaching methods, radio and television programmes, foreign trade, the living environment and foreign policy. Judging from this long catalogue, there appears to be disagreement right down the line.

Azeri Qomi and the Risalat consider, in contrast to Ayatollah Montazeri, that the two wings in the government cannot come to terms and are both doomed to disappear. Accordingly, for months now they have been calling for the Prime Minister's resignation and describing him as "an incomptent man who is running nothing."

No holds are barred in this fierce and tireless struggle between the two factions. In February this year, 50 leading figures (including five aides) close to Minister of Heavy Industry Behzad Nabavi, who is known for his radical views, were arrested, but not a word appeared in the press. Shortly afterwards, the 50 were charged before a revolutionary tribunal, which meant that the accusations were particularly serious. It has been learnt from unofficial sources that they were accused of organising the August 30, 1981 bomb attack on the cabinet offices which killed President Ali Rajai and his Prime Minister Javad Bahonar. The accusation seems all the more incredible as until then the government had laid the attack at the door of the People's Mujahidin movement, which has never denied it.

The *government's right wing* took advantage of this dubious business to try to have one of its main "bêtes noires", Behzad Nabavi, arrested. The Minister of Heavy Industry was saved by Imam Khomeini, who ordered the matter dropped.

Once again the government's detractors want to utilise Behzad Nabavi to get at Prime Minister Musavi and his "guardian angel" Ayatollah Montazeri. It is perhaps to strengthen Montazeri's con-*stantly flouted authority* that the committee of experts meeting in December 1985 made a formal and irreversible "recommendation" by officially designating Ayatollah Montazeri as Khomeini's successor.



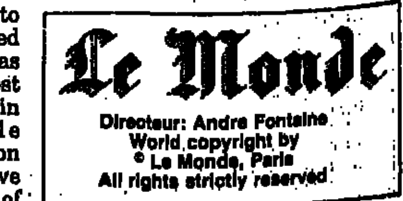
Jean Gueyras concludes a two part report

All to no purpose. Consecrating the imam's heir-apparent in this way has failed to divert the attacks by the traditional Muslim clergy who are now questioning *Montazeri's title* as *"ayatollah* ozma" (great ayatollah) and his religious qualifications. On the other hand, it has added to the suspicions of the mandarins solidly entrenched in the state's various institutions who take a dim view of the elevation of an individual whose reformist initiatives and rather unorthodox governing methods are scarcely acceptable to them.

The *outcome* of the August 1 legislative byelection in Tehran is especially revealing in this respect: it led to the defeat of Ayatollah Montezeri's candidate, Hojatoleslam Ahmadi, who was beaten by former Interior Minister Hojatoleslam Natehg Nuri. Nuri, who is a member of the Islamic Republican Party's right wing, had the full backing of Rafsanjani, who up to this time was thought to be one of Montazeri's main allies. In fact, ever since the committee of experts chose him to step into Imam Khomeini's highly coveted shoes, Ayatollah Montazeri has become an embarrassment to most of the people holding any power in Iran. These men, while disagreeing among themselves on the problems facing Iran, have joined together to clip the wings of Khomeini's successor, the better to *retain their hold on him the day* he moves into the country's top job.

Oddly enough, Khomeini, who had done everything possible to make Montazeri his firm and definitive successor, now seems to be frightened by the drive the latter has undertaken against immobility in the regime and the hardline postures of its leaders. The warning he gave the press at the end of July — "Hold your pens. Note that everything should *not* be written, everything should not be published" — seems to have been aimed primarily at the liberalisation policy and the right to dissent championed by Ayatollah Montazeri. In spite of the honours due to him as the future "guide of the revolution", Imam Khomeini's successor is a lonely man today.

(September 21/22)



The Washington Post

Out Of A Gilded Cage

JOURNALIST Nicholas Daniloff was in a gilded cage in Moscow — in the custody of the American ambassador, but facing a kangaroo trial. In those circumstances, the United States *government was bound to see to* his early relief. The Soviets are not above treating their citizens, and others who fall into their hands, as pawns, but that is not a practice Americans will countenance for one of their own. Nick Daniloff is "out" now, to use the telling word foreigners apply when they leave Moscow. Plainly, it is not only his fellow journalists who rejoice that he is again a free man.

President Reagan presented his departure in a spirit suggestive of triumph, and drew applause from a campaign audience. Whether there is more to cheer than the rescue of one American, however, awaits disclosure of the terms of release. Trading in flesh is, though familiar, repugnant. To become so "sophisticated" as to think of such a transaction *as "normal" or "realistic" in matters including the Kremlin is to yield the* American premise of individual dignity and to take on the cold Soviet way of looking at people as things.

There was, it seems, a special reason on the American side why the terms were not made public at once: to emphasize the supposedly unconditional aspect of Mr. Daniloff's release and to deny at least the appearance of any sort of exchange for Gennady Zakharov, the Soviet spy suspect jailed in New York. Evidently, however, this man too is imbedded in a package whose other elements include the 25 accused spies at the Soviet Union's mission at the United Nations and perhaps some Soviet dissidents imprisoned or otherwise restricted in Moscow. It is, as we say, a distasteful if unavoidable kind of arithmetic that must be done. And *no matter what the sum, it cannot alter the harsh fact that an* American was grossly abused and that a precedent was set to expose foreign journalist to phony spy charges.

The framing of Nick Daniloff happened to fall just as arms control negotiations were starting to look up. This cut two ways: it kept President Reagan's response short of an immediate and unequivocal suspension of the negotiations; it gave Mikhail Gorbachev some incentive to clear the case on terms satisfactory to the United States. As it is, Mr. Reagan has come under attack in some customarily friendly domestic quarters, among others, for seeming to pull his punches. Whether he can yet emerge able to continue his sound and broadly popular policy aimed at improving some aspects of Soviet-American relations depends on *how the terms of the freeing of Nick Daniloff play* out.

Daniloff Freed By Russians

By Lou Cannon

WASHINGTON — American journalist Nicholas Daniloff flew out of *Moscow to freedom on Monday* after Secretary of State George P. Shultz and Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze negotiated a complex compromise in which Daniloff's release without trial was the first step.

"It's wonderful to be back in the West," Daniloff said as he arrived in Frankfurt, West Germany, after a 30-day ordeal that began with his arrest in Moscow on espionage *charges. President Reagan, who* announced Daniloff's release at a political rally in Kansas City, said the Soviets had "blinked" after days of intensive diplomatic negotiations in which the U.S. government insisted that the correspondent be released without conditions.

However, administration sources said that the Shultz-Shevardnadze discussions, driven *on both sides by a desire to remove* obstacles to a superpower summit this year, also had produced an agreement that Gennadi Zakharov, a Soviet citizen charged with spying while working for the United Nations, would soon be returned to the Soviet Union. Zakharov would be returned "in the interests of national security," probably after entering a no-contest plea to three charges of espionage. He was arrested Aug. 23 on a subway platform in New York as he allegedly tried to pay an FBI informant $1,000 for classified documents on military jet engines.

Administration sources said that, at an unspecified time after Zakharov's return, some Soviet dissidents also would be released. They said that Shultz and Shevardnadze also had discussed the case of a 47-year-old Soviet breast cancer patient and her husband, a Jewish "refusenik" who has sought to leave the Soviet Union for 20 years.

Without linking it to any other matter, Soviet authorities in Moscow on Monday told this couple, Tatyana and Benjamin Bogomolny, that they have "permission to leave" and will receive a formal visa within two weeks, according to *Dr. Gerald Batist*, a Montreal cancer researcher who spoke with Tatyana Bogomolny by telephone.

The compromise also included an agreement to limit the size of the Soviet mission at the United Nations and to expel "most" of 25 Soviet officials identified as spies, administration sources said. But a U.S. official pointed out that the Soviets say they have only 205 staff members currently assigned to their U.N. mission and may actually be able to add personnel and still comply with a Reagan *administration directive limiting* the Soviet mission personnel to 218 by Oct. 1.

The names of the 25 Soviets who the administration said are spies have never been made public. A White House official said on Monday that "a few" of these 25 may be allowed to remain because the information about their purported espionage activities is not as definite as it is for others on the list.

An official familiar with the negotiations said the list of the 25 purported spies had included "some negotiating room". He also said the Soviets accepted privately that the United States had a right to limit the size of the mission despite protesting publicly that the *action was illegal. Additional* discussions will be held on the Reagan administration's order that the Soviet mission be reduced to 170 employees over three years, officials said.

Although White House and State Department officials maintained a public silence on details of the negotiations, they were privately jubilant because Daniloff had been released without even *having to enter a plea in a* Soviet court and Zakharov will not contest the charges against him. They were also pleased that most of the 25 purported spies have left for the Soviet Union or will depart soon. "We got everything we wanted," a White House official said.

However, the Soviets are expected to say that they prevailed in the confrontation because Zakharov is being allowed to return to the *Soviet Union — as they have* insisted should have been the case from the beginning. The Soviets have insisted on "equivalency" between Daniloff and Zakharov.

Reuters quoted Valentin Karymov, spokesman for the Soviet U.N. mission, as saying that Zakharov would be released soon. "If one was released, the other will be released for sure," Karymov said. But U.S. officials are present-*ing the compromise not as a* Zakharov-Daniloff swap but as a swap of Zakharov for Soviet dissidents. Among the dissidents mentioned who may be freed are Yuri Orlov, founder of the Soviet Helsinki Watch Committee, and Jewish activists Ida Nudel, Vladimir Slepak and David Goldfarb. The latter is a friend of Daniloff's who said the KGB tried to induce him to frame the correspondent.

Whatever the ultimate historical verdict on the outcome of the negotiations, administration and diplomatic sources agree that the desire of both sides to hold a second summit meeting between Reagan and Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev contributed to the outcome. "It quickly became apparent in the (Shultz-Shevardnadze) discussions in Washington that both sides realized we are on a summit track, and wanted to stay on that track," said a White House official. One source familiar with the negotiations said they "preserved defensible ground rules for superpower relationships".

Daniloff, a 51-year-old U.S. News & World Report correspondent who has just completed five years in Moscow, vigorously protested his innocence and was backed by Reagan, who called his arrest an "outrage" and vowed on Sept. 8 that there would be "no trade" of him for Zakharov. On Sept. 12, Daniloff and Zakharov were released from jail to the custody of their ambassadors in Moscow and New York, an arrangement that provoked conservative criticism of the president because it appeared to treat the two cases equally.

'More Sorrow Than Anger'

By Robert J. McCartney and Gary Lee

NICHOLAS Daniloff stepped off a Lufthansa plane in Frankfurt on Monday evening to end a 30-day ordeal that began when the KGB arrested him in Moscow and accused him of spying. Daniloff and his wife Ruth flew from Moscow after the U.S. government reached a deal with the Kremlin allowing the reporter to leave Soviet territory.

Ruth Daniloff, a 51-year-old Briton, had tears in her eyes as she stood by her husband on the runway and a magazine colleague of her husband handed her a T-shirt reading, "Free Nick Daniloff."

Daniloff did not smile, but appeared grim, as he accused the Soviets of having sought to frame him. "The KGB did not punish me. The KGB punished itself," said Daniloff. "I think it's obvious to everybody what has happened over this last month. I was arrested without an arrest warrant. A case was fabricated against me for the narrow political purpose of giving the Soviet Union some political leverage over the case of Gennadi Zakharov in New York."

Daniloff had arrived at Moscow's Sheremety Airport for the departure shortly after 6 o'clock, and, fighting tears, told reporters in a brief statement, "I must say I leave more in sorrow than in anger." He then read in Russian two stanzas of a poem by 19th century Russian poet Mikhail Lermontov, saying the poet's words, written when he was exiled to the Russian Caucasus, best expressed his own feelings.

"Farewell, unwashed Russia
Country of slaves, country of gentry
And you, blue coated soldiers
And you, obedient people.
Perhaps, behind the spine of the Caucasus
I hide myself from your pashas
From your all-seeing eyes
And your all-hearing ears."

House Overrides Sanctions Veto

By Edward Walsh

WASHINGTON — The House on Monday easily overrode President Reagan's veto of legislation that would impose new economic sanctions against South Africa as Reagan, maneuvering to sustain the veto in the Senate, offered to impose some of the same measures against Pretoria by executive order.

The House's 313 to 83 vote to override was never in doubt. In the main battleground, the Republican-controlled Senate, supporters of the sanctions bill predicted that the promised executive order would fail to deter that chamber from also defying the president and enacting the measure into law later this week.

Senate Foreign Relations Committee Chairman Richard G. Lugar, R-Ind., the chief architect of the sanctions bill, said failure to override the veto would be seen by the South African government as a victory and cast the United States in the role of aplogists for apartheid. "The foreign policy issue is not just the number of sanctions imposed on South Africa," Lugar said. "To argue that there are Republican sanctions, imposed by the president, as opposed to bipartisan congressional sanctions, weakens American foreign policy."

Reagan, repeating a maneuver that succeeded last year in heading off congressional enactment of sanctions legislation, offered the executive order compromise in a letter to Senate Majority Leader Robert J. Dole, R-Kan., and House Speaker Thomas P. (Tip) O'Neill Jr., D-Mass. If his veto is sustained, the president said, he would ban the import of South African iron and steel, prohibit the South African government and its agencies from holding U.S. bank accounts and provide $25 million in aid to disadvantaged South Africans.

These provisions are contained in the sanctions legislation, which also includes a number of other steps that Reagan ignored. The bill would ban the import of uranium, coal, textiles, and agricultural products from South Africa, sever the U.S. landing rights of South African Airways and prohibit U.S. government agencies from buying goods and services from South Africa or assisting trade efforts with South Africa.

In his letter to Dole and O'Neill, Reagan said he was disappointed that South Africa, "instead of moving further down the once promising path of reform and dialogue, has turned to internal repression." He said the sanctions he proposed "are incontestably necessary in today's circumstances" and would "make it plain to South Africa's leaders that we cannot conduct business as usual with a government that mistakes the silence of racial repression for the consent of the governed."

Senate Rejects Extra Aid To Philippines

By Helen Dewar

WASHINGTON — The Senate on Monday rejected $200 million in additional aid to the Philippines as it began debate over a huge, complicated and controversial catchall spending bill for next year that is thwarting plans for adjournment of the 99th Congress. The new economic assistance, which the House approved September 18 in the wake of an enthusiastically received address to Congress by Philippine President Corazon Aquino, was turned down by the Senate on a largely party-line vote of 51 to 43.

Senate Majority Leader Robert J. Dole, R-Kan., and most other GOP leaders fought the new aid to the Philippines proposed by Minority Leader Robert C. Byrd, D-W.Va., and supported by Foreign Relations Committee Chairman Richard G. Lugar, R-Ind., on grounds that it would come at the expense of other deserving allies. They should not be punished "because someone came here and gave a speech," said Dole, warning against what he called a "rush to judgment" in acceding to a "knee-jerk" repsonse by the House, and questioning Philippine commitment to retaining U.S. military bases.

Dole indicated later that, if legal complications can be worked out, he may be able to support a compromise involving transfer to the Philippines of $200 million from $300 million designated for support of several Central American democracies as part of the aid package, for Nicaraguan counterrevolutionaries, or contras.

Labor And The American Bases In Britain

By Karen DeYoung

LONDON — Neil Kinnock, the voluble, red-headed Welshman who leads Britain's opposition Labor Party, plans to travel to the United States in December to give a speech at Harvard University that will outline Labor's proposed policies for British defense. It will be Kinnock's first trip across the North Atlantic since late 1983, when many Americans, in and out of government, listened with appalled or amused incredulity to Labor proposals for the unilateral dismantling of Britain's independent nuclear arsenal, the expulsion of U.S. cruise missiles and the closing of all U.S. nuclear bases in this country.

The proposals, although still a little rough around the edges, have been refined since then. But the message Kinnock will bring to the United States is essentially the same: Labor is committed to a nuclear-free Britain.

Moreover, it is pledged to work within the North Atlantic Treaty Organization for a promise of no first use of nuclear weapons, and an overall nuclear-weapons freeze.

The main difference between 1983 and now is that three years ago, Labor had just suffered its most disastrous electoral defeat ever, due in no small part to public rejection of its defense policy. This time, with new elections due no later than mid-1988, and possibly as early as next spring, Labor may well win.

The most recent public-opinion poll, released last Thursday, gave Labor the support of 40 percent of the electorate, six points ahead of the governing Conservatives. Conducted by Marplan, a leading British pollster, it showed an 11-point swing in Labor's favor since the 1983 elections, and put Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher at her lowest standing in three years.

According to U.S. diplomats in several Western European countries, the possibility of a Labor victory has just started to register in Washington. But it already has provoked some reaction. In an interview last May with The Sunday Times, the U.S. ambassador to Britain, Charles Price, warned that if Labor went ahead with its pledge to remove American missiles from British soil, U.S. public and Congressional support could build to end the American military presence in Britain altogether. In a recently taped interview televised here Monday, the day Labor opened its annual party conference, U.S. Defense Secretary Caspar W. Weinberger said that an antinuclear Labour government in Britain could lead to the breakup of NATO.

Diplomats are hoping the Reagan administration will remain calm, avoiding public threats and predictions of doom that could be interpreted as interference and cause voter backlash in the current anti-American climate here. But even the most sanguine among them privately agree with Weinberger. "If the Labor Party won with a working majority," said one, "we could be looking at the start of what might be the most serious crisis ever to affect NATO in its history."

In defense planning terms, Britain's island geography serves as the ideal storage site for much of NATO's war-fighting equipment — both nuclear and conventional — and as the jumping off point for trans-Atlantic reinforcement of U.S. troops.

The problem is seen much more as a political than a strategic one, however. "Britain is different" from the rest of NATO, said a U.S. official who closely follows the alliance. For reasons of history, language and a shared view of the world, its relationship with the United States is one "that you can't repeat with any other country in Europe." Britain is seen as the guarantor of Western Europe's commitment to NATO and, therefore, to America. "If you don't have this intimate military relationship" between the two countries, the official said, "you do not have NATO. If you do not have NATO, given the record of the continent, you will have another war in Europe."

To Labor policy-makers, that argument is both nonsense on its face and a misrepresentation of a party program that Labor defense spokesman Denzil Davies says is "totally committed to NATO." In its newly refined version — the result of hard-fought internal party battles since 1983 — Labor couples its non-nuclear promise with a pledge to beef up Britain's conventional forces, both at home and in the British Army of the Rhine in West Germany. The party is committed to maintain British defense-spending at a level that would still exceed that of any other major NATO government in Europe.

Their weapons proposals, party officials say, would simply put Britain in the same category as the NATO majority in Western Europe that does not allow nuclear weapons based on its soil. And, they argue, the implemented policy would put Britain in the forefront of a growing belief throughout the continent that current NATO strategy is due for wholesale revision.

"The climate is much more favorable," said Denis Healey, a former British defense minister and currently Labor's foreign-affairs spokesman, in an interview. "There is a growing school of thought on both sides of the Atlantic in favor of a non-nuclear strategy for NATO, and a non-provocative conventional strategy. "I wouldn't by any means claim it is a majority, even in the defense intelligentsia," Healey said. "But it is a growing strain, even in America."

Ironically, the 70-year-old Healey is as responsible for Britain's nuclear capability and its deep defense ties with the United States as any still-active politician here. He was first elected to Parliament in 1945,



Denis Healey

along with the postwar Labor government of Clement Attlee, the leading force in the establishment of NATO. The Truman-Attlee accords of the early 1950s are still in effect as the secret guidelines governing the U.S. military presence in Britain. As then-Prime Minister Harold Wilson's defense secretary from 1964 to 1970, Healey presided over the deployment of the four Polaris submarines, with 64 missiles, that still form the backbone of the British nuclear arsenal.

Along with former U.S. Defense Secretary Robert MacNamara, Healey helped develop NATO's "trip-wire" strategy, the 1960s doctrine holding that early use of nuclear weapons was the best way to fight a war against the Soviets in Europe. In 1983, Healey and a fellow party "Atlanticist," former Prime Minister James Callaghan, drove two of the principle nails in Labor's electoral coffin when they publicly disagreed with the party's promise to unilaterally dismantle the Polaris system without first negotiating comparable weapons cuts with the Soviet Union.

Until the late 1970s, the postwar Atlanticists, along with what one senior Labor defense analyst calls the "strong jingoistic tradition" of grass-roots supporters in the trade-union movement, held the balance of party power against the "peaceniks," those who favored unilateral disarmament on moral grounds. In the early 1980s, however, following NATO's decision to deploy intermediate-range nuclear weapons in Western Europe, and a low ebb in U.S.-Soviet relations, the unilateralist voice became the loudest in the party. As Labor now acknowledges, however, its volume and stridency, combined with public evidence of dissension over defense questions within the Labor leadership, amounted to electoral poison. Labor's traditional supporters within the patriotic working class voted in droves for Thatcher, who had just led Britain to victory in the Falklands War.

Today, much of Thatcher's working-class support threatens to become a casualty of the high unemployment rates and decreasing social services under her government. Conservative Party analysts acknowledge that a principle part of Tory strategy to keep these new voters in the fold during the next election is to remind them of Labor's dangerous defense policies.

While the unilateralists seem now to have a bigger hold over Labor than ever, the party's strategists maintain that Labor has learned its lesson. "Defense policy can't win an election by itself," said the senior analyst, "but it can lose one." Labor believes the vote-losing potential of its defense policy has been mitigated since 1983 by several factors. Principle among them is its new commitment to beef up Britain's conventional forces and keep defense spending at its current high level, as much as 5 percent of national income, for the first several years of a Labor government. "In the last election, we were the party of disarmament but not of defense," said defense spokesman Davies in a speech to senior military officers late last year. "The argument now is how best to defend Britain within the western alliance, rather than . . . whether we want to defend Britain at all."

Labor hopes to save money to spend on conventional defense by canceling Trident, the £14 billion nuclear weapon submarine system Thatcher has ordered to replace the aging Polaris. Additional funds will come from money currently spent on Britain's "out-of-area" military commitments, which Labor also would cancel. After extensive internal debate with those who wanted all savings devoted to domestic social programs, Labor now has pledged to use "a significant portion of the savings" to restore "the short-term economies in conventional defenses which the Conservatives will need to introduce to pay for Trident."

The country's third leading political force, the Liberal and Social Democratic alliance, as well as a majority of Britons, according to opinion polls, agree that Trident should be canceled as too expensive. Additionally, even many within the military are made uncomfortable by its multiple-warhead missiles, which could multiply Britain's nuclear arsenal up to 16 times over Polaris.

The proposal to scrap Polaris with no replacement at all, however, is a different story. Polls show the majority of Britons still favor maintaining an independent nuclear deterrent — if only to lessen dependence on the U.S. nuclear umbrella, and to keep up with the French.

According to party documents, Labor policy is to press the current government to phase out Polaris in international arms negotiations. If this is not done, "Labor will, on assuming office, decommission Polaris from service" with no replacement. There is no mention of prior negotiations with the Russians, a prerequisite still held necessary by Atlanticists such as Healey. Yet Healey said circumstances have resolved his differences with the unilateralists led by the powerful Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, Britain's largest peace organization.

"The unilateral bugaboo of one-sided disarmament . . ., has been largely exorcised," Healey said, by a Soviet promise to "make equivalent cuts in their strategic forces if we got rid of ours." Healey said this Soviet commitment was made to him — and to Deputy Prime Minister William Whitelaw — by Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev during a Parliamentary visit.

Party strategists hope that any internal disagreement over Polaris can be papered over during the electoral campaign, and are counting on Healey, who wants to become foreign secretary under the next Labor government, not to call attention to the issue. The party expects much more notice to be paid to its promise to "regularize" the presence of U.S. military forces here. "That means the bases, more than anything else," said the Labor defense analyst. It is a policy expected to meet with widespread public approval, particularly evident since Thatcher's highly unpopular decision last April to allow the U.S. raid on Libya to be launched from air bases in Britain.

"The Libyan bombing legitimized the debate" over the U.S. presence here, said Robert Worcester of the Market Opinion and Research Institute. "Up to the day that happened," he said, "Labor defense policy had no credibility. It was not a subject of legitimate debate, and it was dismissed by both the pundits and the electorate."

U.S. diplomats tend to agree. "There is already an antipathy toward the Reagan administration" in Europe, said one. "That's where the Libya raid really hurt," by implying that the administration took no notice of European opinion, even while using European territory.

But although Labor documents call for "the unconditional removal of all U.S. nuclear weapons and nuclear bases from British soil and British waters," it remains unclear which U.S. installations here the party has in mind. Nuclear weapons are permanently based at only a handful of facilities — two bases where U.S. cruise missiles are deployed, five airfields with "nuclear capable" aircraft, and the Poseidon submarine base located at Holy Loch, Scotland. But there are as many as 100 installations with facilities related to the U.S. nuclear role in NATO, including communications and intelligence sites, weapons storage depots and other posts.

"Minimalists" in the party, such as Healey, interpret the policy as signaling the start of lengthy negotiations with the United States and the rest of NATO over the conditions and schedule for withdrawal. But a substantial segment of "maximalists," said the Labor defense analyst, contend the policy means "everybody out . . . all bases with any nuclear-related function."

There is some hope among party moderates that success in ongoing U.S.-Soviet arms reduction negotiations in Europe will begin to resolve many of Labor's disarmament dilemmas before the next election here. Concurrent with their campaign preparations, Labor leaders are working to solidify the party's links with Western Europe's other socialist and social democratic movements, in the belief that they are riding a political pendulum that gradually is swinging the entire region toward the nonnuclear left.

It is an assessment that many U.S. and other Western diplomats do not entirely dispute. Three years after NATO saw the first European deployments of U.S. cruise missiles as marking the beginning of the end of the disarmament movement, alliance doctrines are again being called into question, along with what is perceived as outdated U.S. dominance. "The precepts used to be generally agreed," said one diplomat. "Now they aren't." The pro-NATO left and center in Europe are asking whether NATO's current strategy of maintaining the capability for a "flexible" conventional-nuclear response to an attack from the East, the policy successor to "tripwire," has itself become outmoded. Terms like "nonprovocative" and "defensive" conventional defense have increasingly appeared in mainstream party platforms.

Several reasons are given for the shift that is beginning to be perceived in Europe. Writ large, it is partly generational, taking into account the four decades that have passed since Europe's last war provided Nato's foundation. But there are more recent phenomenon — a new level of European belief in the Soviet desire for substantive nuclear weapons reductions, a growing lack of confidence in American decision-making, the Chernobyl nuclear accident, increased fears of weapons-induced nuclear winter. "The political ground has shifted," concluded a seasoned alliance-watcher here. "The question of European defense has been reopened."

Critics say Canada's Prime Minister found 'epidemic' by looking south, then imported remedy

Mulroney's 'Me-Tooism' Touches Canadians' Raw Nerve

By Herbert H. Denton

TORONTO — Prime Minister Brian Mulroney startled then riled many Canadians with his declaration last month that Canada is afflicted with a drug "epidemic".

The jeers were even louder when Mulroney volunteered to submit to a urinalysis, as Reagan had done and seemed to indicate that he favored mandatory drug testing for Canadian government employees, as had been advocated within the Reagan administration.

The leader of Canada's opposition Liberal Party, John Turner, said, "I can't help wondering if there is any bandwagon that goes by that Mr. Mulroney doesn't jump on."

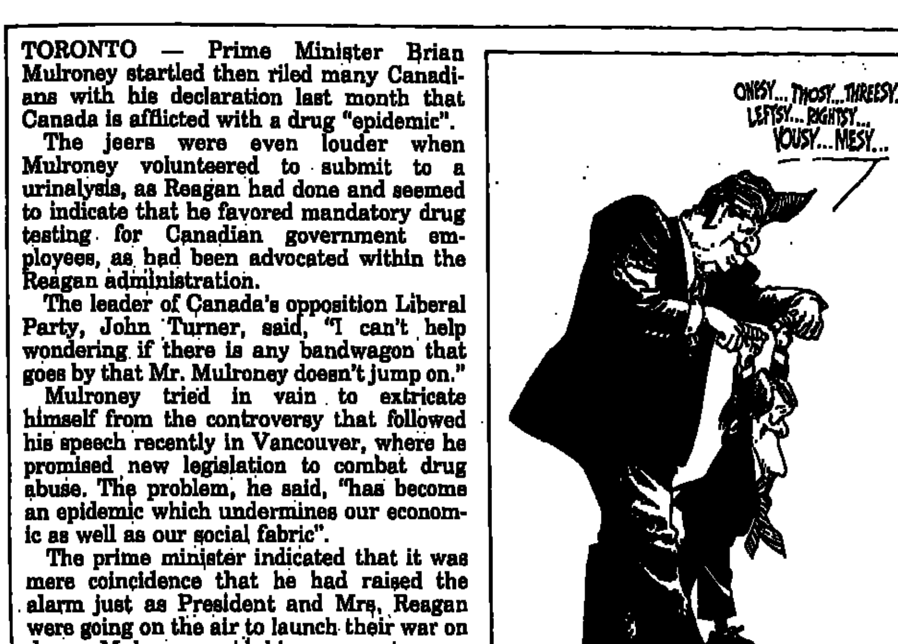
Mulroney tried in vain to extricate himself from the controversy that followed his speech recently in Vancouver, where he promised new legislation to combat drug abuse. The problem, he said, "has become an epidemic which undermines our economic as well as our social fabric".

The prime minister indicated that it was mere coincidence that he had raised the alarm just as President and Mrs. Reagan were going on the air to launch their war on drugs. Mulroney said his comments were prompted by a Canadian Broadcasting Corp. radio documentary that morning on drug abuse in Canada.

Editorial writers and cartoonists across the country lambasted Mulroney for what some described as his "me-tooism". Physicians, police and drug-abuse experts said that while drug abuse, particularly of cocaine, has been growing in Canada, the problem was far less serious than in the United States.

Norm Bolen, the executive producer of the CBC radio program that Mulroney had cited, said it "did not talk in any way about a drug epidemic in Canada". A follow-up aired later was devoted to discounting Mulroney's comment.

The ensuing flap appeared to illustrate two somewhat contradictory strands of Canadian thinking. On the one hand, Canadians are so influenced by American television programs, magazines and movies



Cartoon by Ed Franklin in the Toronto Globe and Mail

that they sometimes have difficulty distinguishing their own situation from the one south of the border.

For example, teenagers arrested here who have been raised on a diet of American police television dramas sometimes demand that police read them their Miranda warnings — even though that guarantee against self-incrimination takes its name from a ruling of the U.S. Supreme Court, not Canada's.

Last fall, parents in Montreal followed those in New York City in demanding that children with AIDS be barred from attending regular school classes. The clamor subsided once school officials assured the Quebec parents that, unlike in New York, no Montreal child had been diagnosed at that time as having the deadly disease.

On the other hand, Canadians like to think they have a distinct cultural identity that sets them apart from Americans. They react with fury when they perceive their leaders to be marching to a tune set in Washington.

Turner had little opportunity to gloat about Mulroney's difficulties on this score. Later in the week, his former campaign manager, Keith Davey, said in excerpts from an upcoming book that in 1984 Turner, then prime minister, had backed away from an attack on U.S. nuclear policy after being so advised by his friend, Secretary of State George P. Shultz. The disclosure has touched off a major ruckus as Turner prepares for a possible challenge to his leadership of the Liberal Party at its convention in November.

As Mulroney began backing off his initial expressions of support for drug testing, one of his ministers, Barbara McDougall, rejected the idea outright. "We don't live in a police state in Canada and we don't intend to create one," she said.

Later, neither the members of Mulroney's personal staff nor officials at the Health and Welfare Ministry had documentation of a drug epidemic here.

Customs inspectors and Royal Canadian Mounted Police drug enforcement officers noted that Mulroney recently had cut back on the numbers of drug investigators and airport and border inspectors.

"Mr. Mulroney should put up or shut up; his statements appear very contradictory," said Mansel Legacy, president of the customs agents' union.

CBC producer Bolen said his program had discussed indications that a ring of Iranians was peddling a cheap grade of heroin in video arcades and reggae clubs in Montreal but that experts had estimated heroin addicts there numbered only about 5,000.

In Toronto, Garth Martin, head of treatment services for the provincially run Addict Research Foundation, said of drug abuse in Ontario, "We have some reason to be optimistic even though we are seeing a modest increase in cocaine users". He said the increase was largely among those 30 to 45 years old and appeared to cut across all classes. Among teenagers, though, he said, there was at first a "plateauing", then a decline in overall drug abuse during the past five years.

"Alcohol is still by far the biggest drug problem," he said.

If Mulroney's remarks touched off a political furor, they appeared to have accomplished little else. In a downtown Toronto strip, uniformed police officers appeared to be making no special effort to halt drug trafficking.

By 5:05 that Friday afternoon, the entire drug enforcement branch of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police unit in Toronto had cleared out for the weekend. Callers were advised to phone on Monday.

Thousands Still Homeless One Year After Mexico Earthquake

By William A. Orme Jr.

MEXICO CITY — More than 80,000 people are still living in temporary shelters in streets and parks one year after their homes were destroyed by the Mexico City earthquake, putting officials on the defensive about slow-moving reconstruction efforts.

In the government's latest effort to show progress in its earthquake housing programs, President Miguel de la Madrid ceremonially presented disaster victims with titles to 6,300 new federally built apartments last week, bringing to 23,600 the number of families said officially to have received permanent new homes.

The president proclaimed a day of national mourning on the first anniversary of the quake and all radio stations went silent for one minute at 7:18 a.m., the hour the first of several quakes and aftershocks hit the city.

In all, officials estimated, the Sept. 19, 1985, earthquake left about 90,000 famiies in need of housing aid. Another 52,000 apartments are to be completed before the earthquake's second anniversary, according to administration officials. But two years after the disaster, they acknowledged, at least 10,000 families will probably remain unhoused.

Officials had originally promised to provide housing for all affected families by last Christmas. But while 12,500 unoccupied state housing units were quickly handed out to homeless government employees, according to official accounts, construction of most new housing projects did not get underway until Easter.

Cuauhtemoc Abarca, the coordinator of a combative coalition of organizations representing the homeless, led protest marches against the program's slow progress, bitterly criticizing the government's decision to spend international aid on the reconstruction of schools and hospitals instead of housing.

"This money was given to help the people, the victims of the earthquake, and the government kept the money for itself," he complained in an interview.

On the anniversary, more than 10,000 earthquake victims and their supporters marched on Mexico City's main square to demand shelter for the homeless and criminal prosecution of officials responsible for allegedly faulty construction of government buildings. Hours earlier, in a much smaller rally, several thousand government supporters gathered at the plaza to commemorate the anniversary.

Mexican officials vehemently defended their management of foreign disaster aid, noting the absence of substantial complaints from donors. The new housing drive was initially impeded not by a shortage of funds but by bureaucratic conflicts that have since been resolved, they contended.

"At first, there was a lot of confusion and a lack of organization," Gabino Fraga, deputy minister of ecology and urban development, said in an interview. "It took us six months to get a housing program together. But you have to appreciate the earthquake's magnitude. It was the strongest ever to occur in such a densely populated urban area."

Measuring 8.1 on the open-ended Richter scale, the eathquake caused more than $3.5 billion in physical damage in the capital and took about 20,000 lives, according to foreign diplomatic analysts, United Nations researchers and independent Mexican experts. The government has been criticized for failing to prepare its own comprehensive report detailing the disaster's damage and human casualties.

The 44,000 new center city apartments being given to victims are tiny by middle-class Mexican standards, with barely 500 square feet of floor space. But for most occupants, the new units are an improvement over their former, far more cramped quarters in decaying buildings that in some cases dated back to Spanish colonial days. The government expropriated the old rental properties from private landlords and is selling the new apartments through long-term, low-interest loans, with payments not to exceed 30 percent of the monthly minimum wage.

"The new place looks pretty good to us," Eduardo Rosales, a mason, said after moving into a new apartment building with his wife and two children. "We have water, we have electricity, and it is going to be ours."

Acutely sensitive to charges that it mishandled the disaster, the government sponsored a series of ceremonies and conferences commemorating the earthquake and publicizing its reconstruction efforts. Internationally renowned seismologists and structural engineers attended scientific seminars, while foreign reporters were treated to a tour of rebuilt schools, hospitals and apartment buildings. Construction crews worked overtime readying new housing units in time for the presidential ceremonies.

Overshadowing the government's efforts, however, was a continuing antagonism between high-level officials and groups representing many of the earthquake victims.

Some observers traced the government's credibility problems to its refusal to estimate officially the number of dead, which led critics to accuse it of deliberately playing down the disaster.

"The government has consistently tried to hide information and minimize the facts," Abarca said.

In the anniversary week the government again reported only that death certificates had been issued for 4,287 bodies recovered from the ruins, declining to estimate the complete death toll. Yet one week after the quake, federal officials estimated in private conversations with foreign reporters and diplomats that it had claimed 9,500 victims.

Fraga said the total number of victims could range from 10,000 to 15,000, but other officials immediately characterized his estimate as being "without basis".

The U.S. Embassy here, relying on its own investigations, Mexican military sources and other western governments, concluded in a published report that 20,000 to 30,000 people were killed in the disaster.

The death toll controversy reinforced skepticism about the government's disaster aid efforts, observers say.

"When a society is confronted with a tragedy of such magnitude and the authorities are trying to minimize it, that creates all kinds of reason for suspicion," Adolfo Aguilar Zinsser, a political analyst at Mexico's Economic Research Center, said in an interview.

Officials almost reflexively underestimated the death toll, Aguilar said, because they feared the disaster "would damage the image of an omnipotent superstate capable of handling any problem".

Another motive, critics charged, involved widespread accusations that many deaths were caused by allegedly corrupt construction practices in government building projects.

Officials acknowledged that quake damage was concentrated disproportionately in public buildings: of the estimated 20 million square feet of downtown office space destroyed by the temblor, about 12 million square feet belonged to the government, Fraga said. Among the wrecked buildings were the headquarters of four ministries and a 20-story federal court center that was the only major office tower in the city to be destroyed.

More seriously, the buildings with the largest losses of life were all built and managed by the government: the General Hospital, where 116 staff members and an estimated 200 patients died; the Juarez Hospital, where there were, by a medical association count, about 1,000 victims; and the Nuevo Leon apartment building, where the government acknowledged 289 deaths but tenants' groups said at least 600 residents were killed.

The government has declined to respond publicly to the charges of corruption and negligence. Yet foreign and independent Mexican experts who studied the quake damage said in an interview that the widespread destruction of government buildings was probably due to causes other than lax construction standards.

"You can't say that corruption was not a factor in some instances, but the percentage of damage attributable to corruption was probably very minimal," said Jorge Prince of the National University's Engineering Institute, one of a team of structural engineers now preparing a tougher, more detailed antiseismic building code for Mexico City.

Most of the earthquake's damage was provoked by the unusually prolonged, severe rocking of the boggy ancient lake bed beneath Mexico's capital, scientists say. For more than two minutes, with almost metronomic regularity, the soft center-city subsoil surged back and forth by one foot every two seconds, setting in motion extraordinary strains on broad-based buildings from five to 15 stories high — structures big enough to sway, but not tall or flexible enough to rock resiliently along with the earthquake's motion.

By coincidence, engineers reported, most buildings of this size and design in the downtown district belonged to the government, which had also widely employed a lightweight "waffle-slab" construction technique that proved vulnerable to the quake's stresses.

The Shot Heard Round The World

By Douglas B. Feaver

"THE TARGET IS DESTROYED". What Really Happened to Flight 007 and What America Knew About it. By Seymour M. Hersh. Random House. 282pp. $17.95.

IT took three years and one of the nation's best reporters, but we finally have a carefully researched, reasonable, readable explanation of how Korean Air Lines Flight 007 came to be shot down over Soviet waters.

What makes *'The Target Is Destroyed'* so good is its sense of responsibility. Seymour M. Hersh, the Pulitzer prize-winning author, probably started where many did, suspecting some U.S. role in the bizarre route that found Flight 007 more than 300 miles off course and resulted in the deaths of all 269 people on board three years ago September 1.

Such a finding would have made an exciting book. The problem is, the evidence doesn't support that conclusion, despite the attempts of several lesser authors to point the finger in that direction.

The ultimate test for a reporter is whether he has the courage, after having spent hours, days or months on a story, to tell his editors and ultimately his readers that the most socko version of what might have happened is not the truth. To do so often means a collapse at the box office.

This book should not suffer that fate. It is a fascinating account of how the superpowers behave toward each other and of how intelligence is collected and abused as well as used. It offers a plausible, nonconspiracy theory for how the crewmembers of Flight 007 might have made the big navigational mistake that carried them off course on what should have been a routine flight from Anchorage to Seoul. And it offers a warning for the future of mankind: If we can't do better than we did after this tragic incident, there is the distinct possibility we will blow ourselves away.

News reports about Hersh's book and published excerpts have detailed the bottom line: The Soviets made a mistake when they shot down the airliner. They confused Flight 007, a Boeing 747 jumbo, for a U.S. Air Force surveillance plane, a military model of the Boeing 707, that just happened to be flying in the same general area as Flight 007 before the Korean plane crossed into Soviet territory.

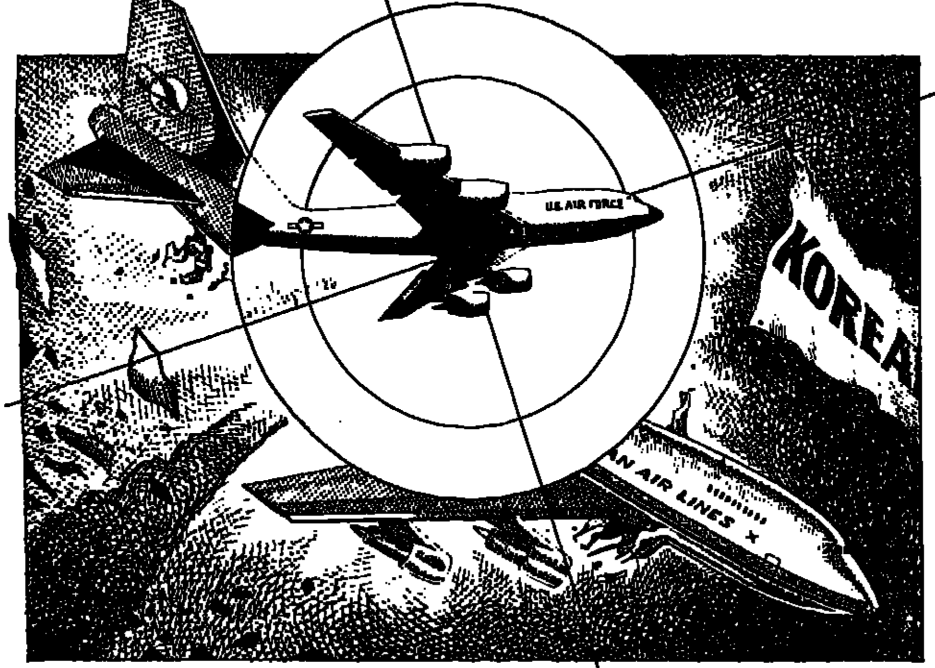


Illustration by Gary Viskupic for the Washington Post.

Air Force intelligence was able to infer the mistake within hours of the shootdown, but kept much of its information to itself while the rest of the U.S. intelligence system droned to a conclusion that led to Secretary of State George Shultz's famous news conference where he announced the shootdown and denounced the Soviets for knowingly destroying a civilian aircraft.

It was days before the truth began to filter from the intelligence world to the world at large and by that time the truth was running counter to the hugely successful anti-Soviet campaign mounted by the Reagan administration, where hardliners had been worrying for months before the shootdown that the United States was going to drift too closely toward a new era of Soviet understanding.

There was no danger of that after the shootdown and no reason to give the Soviets the benefit of the doubt, despite a long record of U.S. overflights of Soviet airspace going back to the U-2 era (and repeated just a few months before Flight 007) and despite a continuing and aggressive U.S. surveillance-plane operation just outside Soviet airspace.

The campaign against the evil empire was just beginning. Remember the big production at the United Nations, where the Japanese intelligence tape recording of the Soviet fighter pilot's radio communications (and a highly biased translation) were played for the world?

It turns out the United States was willing to display the work of the Japanese, but not of its own forces. Hersh tells for the first time that a U.S. intelligence unit in Japan heard the Soviet fighter's radio communications as they occurred, something that many Western specialists have long suspected. If that was the case, why wasn't the plane warned?

Hersh explains that it was unclear to U.S. intelligence for several hours what all the commotion was about, only that the Soviets had fired an air-to-air missile. That fact aside, the standard State Department answer to how the United States knew so much about the shootdown was that the information was collected automatically, then recovered. The possibility of "real-time" monitoring was always denied, even though Soviet air defense activity against Flight 007 was observed hours before the shootdown.

While the Reagan administration was pressing its propaganda advantage, the Soviets were trying to figure out how to deal with a disaster. Predictably they cried "spy" and denied any guilt in the matter, although, Hersh reports, they violated their own rules of engagement when Flight 007 was shot down without first being positively identified.

"The shootdown had come full circle," Hersh writes. "Both sides believed the worst of each other and were falsely claiming that they could prove it. Both believed that only their version of reality was the truth."

Hersh's conclusion is a warning for the future: intelligence is only as good as the use to which it is put. The U.S. electronic intelligence services behaved splendidly, only to be betrayed in the process of interpretation. "The NSA [National Security Agency], which knew better, chose not to tell others in the government what they didn't want to hear," writes Hersh.

Unless Flight 007's black boxes are someday recovered from the ocean floor, no one will be able to answer with certainty the question of how the plane flew so far off course. Hersh, helped by an airline pilot familiar with the North Pacific routes, makes the best effort to date at explaining to the general reader how that could happen.

'The Target Is Destroyed' is an effective effort to explain the shades of gray in a complex problem. It deserves a wide audience.

Douglas B. Feaver covers transportation for the National staff of The Washington Post.

Ralph Whitlock

No Michaelmas goose for me

SORTING an old letter file I came across a letter, dated 1958, from an old colleague reminiscing about his early days.

"Householders grew their own yearly supply of fruit and vegetables," he reminded himself. "They were never bought. You either grew them or did without. During the past few years the cult of the can-opener has grown until today more vegetables are eaten from cans than are locally grown. Some households do not grow any vegetables or fruit but rely entirely on cans from the grocer."

Such a short time ago! What would he have made of our supermarkets, stocked not only with cans and packages of every conceivable food but also with fresh fruit and vegetables from half the countries of the world! Mangoes, okra, passion fruit, guavas, avocadoes, lemon grass, white aubergines, eddoes, sweet potatoes, as well as strawberries in November, green beans in April and mushrooms all the year round.

While marvelling at my good fortune in living in an era and country where such a cornucopia is available to me every week, provided I have the necessary cash in my pocket, I confess to an old-fashioned preference for enjoying the fruits of the earth in their proper seasons. Strawberries are for eating in early July, green peas coincide with roast ducks, mushrooms should be gathered from dew-saturated meadows shrouded in October mists, parsnips should never be eaten until they have been frozen in the soil. To my palate, the flavour of these home-produced delicacies far surpasses that of the best offerings of cans, packets, and deep-freeze cabinets.

What started this train of thought was a letter from a reader who has travelled from afar to what she hopes is a permanent home in Nottinghamshire and who asks, Why Nottingham *Goose* Fair?

Although I haven't attended this lively event in recent years, I believe it is now predominantly a pleasure fair, held for three days beginning on the first Thursday of October. Centuries ago it went on for twenty-one days. Nowadays it is held at a place called The Forest, a mile or so from the town centre, but its original site was Nottingham's spacious market place. And it was known as a Goose Fair for the logical reason that thousands upon thousands of geese were sold there.

And why, it may be asked, did so many geese change owners just at that date? Because it provides yet another example of enjoying things in their proper season. The proper season for fat geese is Michaelmas.

Geese are one of the few agricultural products (if you can refer to such individualistic creatures as a product) which have defied all attempts at mass production. Table chicken, turkeys, pigs, ducks (Cherry Valley now exports them by the hundred thousand to China), beef cattle, battery hens, veal calves, all have yielded, but geese still resolutely refuse to be so exploited. They lay their eggs within well-defined calendar limits and then stop. Time-honoured country proverbs state just when:

On Valentine's Day
A good goose will lay;
If she be a good goose,
Her dame well to pay,
She will lay two eggs, before
Valentine's Day.

And then, a little later:

Before St Chad,
Every goose lays, both good and bad.

The inference is that after St Chad's Day (March 2) goose egg-laying may be expected to taper off, which it does, quite quickly. So that gives the laying season no more than about a month.

Incubation period for a goose egg is about a month, so by the time the goslings are ready to go foraging there is fresh spring grass for them to nibble. They grow apace through the summer, giving rise to yet another proverb, "Geese in the home pasture shows that the farmer's wife wears the trousers". With their droppings they foul a pasture to such an extent that no self-respecting farmer would ever have them about the place, if his wife (whose pin-money they probably represented) did not insist!

In August the goslings would be ready to go gleaning in the stubble-fields as soon as the harvest had been gathered. There they would grow fat and so be in ideal condition by Michaelmas.

Although geese refuse to extend their egg-laying activities to cater for a year-round mechanised industry, they were popular in mediaeval England and were protected by sufficient numbers of farmers' wives to produce immense hordes of fat geese. From considerable distances they walked in great droves to the Michaelmas Fairs.

In the little Somerset town of Ilchester a saddler and harness-maker, Mr Fred Pim, used to do a thriving business making little boots of soft leather for geese walking from Devon to London. These flocks started from Devon around the end of August and, augmented at every fair and market en route, arrived in London in time for the Christmas trade. They travelled six or eight miles a day, feeding on stubble-fields.

Another record mentions an Aylesbury smith who shod Welsh geese en route for London. And some drovers made their geese pass three times through a mixture of sawdust, tar and sand, in order to form a pad on their feet before starting their journey.

A barbarous "sport" was a feature of Michaelmas fairs in Birmingham in the eighteenth century. High above a street a live goose would be suspended by its feet from a rope stretched across the thoroughfare. Horsemen at full gallop grabbed at the goose's head and tried to pull it off as they passed beneath.

Not only would I be unable to participate in such an outrage but I would have hated now to have to kill a goose by any method. Well, the method we had to employ on the farm of my boyhood days *was* pretty barbarous. You stunned the goose by hitting his head with a hammer and then cut its jugular vein. But I have enjoyed the company of so many pet geese in my time and have found them so intelligent that I would feel like a man committing murder. No Michaelmas goose for me, thank you.

Book of swells

Michael McNay on how the Swiss are making a priceless Irish treasure available to the gnome on the street

THE Book of Kells, the most famous and maybe even the finest illuminated manuscript in the world, is to be made available to the man in the street. Not, admittedly, quite the ordinary man in the street: one with something approaching £8,000 to spend on one copy of a limited facsimile edition of 1,500.

Since its rebinding in 1953 the Book of Kells is in four volumes, two of which are on view to the public in the Long Library of Trinity College, Dublin, at any one time: four pages of the 680, that is. A hundred thousand people came last year to see the manuscript with its round thousand whirligig gloriols, as H. C. Earwicker saw it in his dream, its airy plumeflights all tiberiously antiembellishing the initials majuscule.

In his own write, James Joyce further declared: "It is the most purely Irish thing we have and some of the big initial letters which swing right across a page have the essential quality of a chapter of Ulysses." Which, given that the Book of Kells may have been inscribed on Iona, or even — like that other miraculously beautiful gospel book in the British Museum — at Lindisfarne, is a little like calling the Bayeux Tapestry French or General Motors British.

There have been reproductions of Kells before, but nothing, say Faksimile-Verlag of Lucerne, that can truly be called a facsimile. This firm, drawing on the legendary expertise of the Swiss in the craft of colour printing, has got its eye in on a couple of lesser medieval manuscipts together with Les Tres Riches Heures du Duc de Berry which, given its position straddling the medieval world and the Renaissance, is for some an even greater document than the Book of Kells.

But that is art-history speak. When all is zed and done, as Earwicker has it, no work can be more sublime than sublime. And art-historical quibbling to one side, Joyce was right about the mazily intricate illuminations of the Book of Kells: even if it was written in the scriptorium of Iona and brought to Kells when Viking fire became too hot in the islands of Argyll, it was composed by Irish monks from the church of Irish Columba.

For what we are pleased to call the Dark Ages was a time of free passage among men, with no let or passport hindrance placed on the movement of Coptic influences from the monasteries of Egypt to the Celtic communities of Ireland or on the import of the lapis lazuli of Afghanistan for the manufacture of the heavenly blues to embellish the word of God. But the unanswerable questions for pragmatists who want a date and a time are how and why and, most of all, when?

How? is the easiest question to answer. The Irish church developed along monastic lines away from the influence of Rome, its art a Christian reinterpretation of decorative themes found on weapons, tools, and jewellery of the Celtic tribes of Gaul, Britain, and Ireland itself.

The facsimile edition is the baby of Urs Duggelin of Faksimile-Verlag. He exchanged contracts with Trinity College two weeks ago, but first he had to convince the college authorities by inventing a machine that would hold the Book of Kells up to the camera without putting any strain on the 1,200-year-old vellum (the best guess for when the manuscript was composed is around the late 8th or early 9th century).

Faksimile-Verlag aim for publication in 1990. It will take maybe 50 return air trips between Lucerne and Dublin to compare the shade of paper with vellum, the colour of uncial character with uncial character, illumination with illumination. And the venture will devour the equivalent of maybe 40 years of a single craftsman's time to get it right — rather more than the best-informed estimates of the time it took the Celtic scriptorium to inscribe the original book. But then the monks didn't have the new technology to help them.

Me and my 'displaced vertebrae'

By Roy Hattersley

I HAVE just been to the hospital with my bad back. People with bad backs talk like that for reasons which I intend to explain. It is not the pain that brings on the particular patois — although bad backs, as well as being one of the nation's most common complaints, are one of the most painful troubles from which it is possible to suffer. You will have noticed that the language remained consistent throughout. Bad backs are complaints or troubles, not medical conditions. Those who endure them are not patients, but sufferers. At the hospital, I was "seen to."

A bad back is essentially a working class condition. It comes directly from the minutes of a Department of Health and Social Security Tribunal. "The appellant claimed that consequent upon his bad back, he was still unfit for work because he remained precluded from lifting heavy objects." Of course, the independent medical examination did not confirm the diagnosis and sickness benefit was suspended. None of the Mitford gels had bad backs. No bulletin, hanging on the gates of Clarence House, ever described the latest news on the bad back which the Queen Mother endured.

The aristocratic and the heroic suffer from specific, not generic, conditions. No one ever claims to have got a bad back from rescuing children from drowning or frustrating a bank robbery. War wounds are described explicitly — shrapnel in the lumber muscles or a round still lodged between two vertebrae. Diseases of the upper class are given precise scientific names which both stipulate the affected organ and describe the nature of its malfunction. Bad backs are what Aunty Edith has had ever since little Albert arrived unexpected. And granddad got one from doing too much digging on the allotment.

Bad backs are also risible. As, last week, I walked into the surgery speaking the immortal line, "Doctor, I've got a bad back." I felt that I had become a bit part player in a Ben Travers farce. The Crazy Gang had bad backs. Characters played by Jack Lemmon and Walter Matthau have bad backs which "lock rigid" at inconvenient moments. Bad backs appear in the league table of silly diseases somewhere between haemorrhoids and tennis elbow.

My bad back is — I am authoritatively assured — the product of wear and tear combined with a mistake made by homo sapiens several thousand years ago. The decision to stand upright and walk on two feet instead of four carried with it unexpected penalties — including the creation of unnatural pressure on the base of the spine. My bad back is the price that I pay for getting you down out of the trees. I hope that you are grateful. The cost can only be described in metaphors which are anachronistic by several millennia. A gasket has gone. A washer is worn out. Two of my moving parts are beginning to grind on each other.

To be frank, I have no idea whether or not these explanations of the cause of my condition makes scientific sense or are simply mumbo-jumbo. Nor am I completely certain if the comparisons with the internal combusion engine are wholly apposite. I merely report the comments and condolences offered to me by strangers and slight acquaintances to whom I have described the shooting pains that spread from the base of my spine. For one of the symptons of a bad back is an irresistible desire to talk about it.

Normally when people ask me "how are you?" I respond in the manner prescribed in all the books on etiquette. "How are you?" Now, to their amazement and horror, I tell them "I have this sort of opening-and-shuttering sensation in the small of my back. And a twitching in the nerves behind my knees. I've been to the doctor and we're waiting for the result of the second X-ray. The surgeon says that. . . ." But by that time the passer-by (who thought he was offering a variation on "Good morning") has passed by.

Last week, in the Reform Club, a person whom I barely know said that it was all to do with reflexes and that she could put me right by manipulating my feet. Other helpful suggestions have involved acupuncturists, osteopaths and homeopaths. All these propositions have been politely turned down. Where I come from, homeopaths are concerned with the herbal remedies that used to be on sale at the sarsaparilla shop to which I went for light refreshment after playing tennis in Hillsborough Park. If I am to suffer from a working class disabilty, I am at least entitled to decent working class treatment.

I insist on being treated by a proper doctor . . . a superior subspecies of the human race which can be easily defined. Proper doctors are 55. Proper doctors wear tweed suits and are Scottish. They can produce an endless stream of reasuring cliches like "we'll get you right in no time," and they have no truck with fancy modern theories that require complicated and expensive equipment to be installed in their consulting room. No matter how great the emergency they are never asked to call round until the fire has been lighted and the steps swept. They are only visited after the parts of the anatomy which they are to examine have been thoroughly washed and clean underwear has been put on. Proper doctors always ask if you want a sick note.

But they are careful not to write upon it, the dreadful diagnosis "bad back." For nobody takes bad backs seriously. It is the disease of malingerers, the condition of the work-shy, the affliction of the lazy. They write "trapped nerve" or "displaced vertebrae" and they smile comforting smiles. At least, I think, that is what they do. They may really be suppressing the laughter which is the natural reaction to the opening line "Doctor, I've got a bad back."

Tongue tied

TV: Nancy Banks-Smith goes round the world and into space to hear English as she is exported

IT IS in general a good idea when writing to throw away your first paragraph. This is because you have taken particular pains to write it beautifully. It is, in consequence, completely unintelligible. I became a TV critic somewhat suddenly when the former critic went off his head and the reason they noticed was not that his first par made no sense — that was to be expected — but neither did his second, his third or fourth.

The Story of English (BBC 2) should have thrown away the first programme, An English-Speaking World. I can't believe it won't get better now they have got that off their chest. It was like being a lady-in-waiting on some exhausting and eccentrically planned world tour. Russia, Barra, Ghana, Sierra Leone. "May I present William Saphire, America's most widely-read language guru?" "How do you do, language guru." "And the Prime Minister of Singapore" "How do you do Lee Kuan Yew." On, on, to California to meet Moon Zappa — "who flashed around the world" — and half a dozen West Coast kooks. On to Japan, China and the reaches of outermost space with Voyager. No wonder Prince Charles likes to sit in his arbour talking to the roses after one of those.

There was a strong temptation to wander off down secluded sideroads while nobody was looking. Who, for instance, were this prewar couple, both in evening dress, reading from an action-packed script in cut-glass accents? "What's thet?" "It's gulls. We've disturbed them." "Better keep clear of the benks." At which a little man in spectacles and evening dress did an impression of a seagull and the woman cried thrillingly, "He deserves to die."

Or the Notary in India offering "Affidavits, photos, power of attorney, bond, hundies attested here." Hundies? You mean, er *ladies'* hundies? Or the octogenarian former president of Sierra Leone who keeps a stuffed lioness in his study (and whose son when last heard of was improving his English at Her Majesty's Pleasure). Or the little group of Chinese following, with touching attention, an English by television programme, Follow Me, which has the largest audience in China. A group of middle-aged actors were discussing going to Brighton. "How far is Brighton?" asked one gloomily. "It's 85 kilometres away," said Francis Matthews. No-one hit him. "How can we get to Brighton?" droned the pessimist hopelessly. "By train. Train is quicker than coach," said a particularly bossy woman. "How far is Brighton?" repeated a young Chinese with the shining wonder of a child asking how many miles to Babylon.

It is a pity a programme about English should be so badly written. By a Scotsman as it happens. And if English is so wonderful, why did everyone refer to it as a lingua franca?

It is faintly unfortunate that the last royal seen talking to a plant was George III, who took off his hat to a tree believing it to be the King of Bohemia. Prince Charles, who admitted the same habit in In Private, In Public (ITN) thinks George III had many good points. The tree seconded that. Alan J. Lerner said he talked to the trees but complained that they didn't listen to him. Prince Charles, however, says, "They respond, I find."

Gardeners' Question Time, consulted on this very issue, held that, if plants benefit from being talked to, it is because you are in a better position to see that they are riddled with thrips, blight, moles, mould and the invisible worm that flies in the night. I find they respond well to threats of violence. This is known as the Princess Anne approach.

The next question, and the pity of this programme is that no questions were asked, is what does he *say* to them?

In Private, In Public was inadvertently illuminating. Apart from round the world yachtsmen (who talk to themselves) I have not seen a lonelier looking man.

Franco's wash-out

Tom Sutcliffe on Zeffirelli's waterlogged film of Otello



Placido Domingo: often magnificent



Katia Ricciarelli: visually charming

IT IS Zeffirelli's Otello. But it is certainly not Verdi's, and only partially Placido Domingo's.

Operagoers know Verdi's Otello to be a tight and inexorable structure, hastening to its doom-laden conclusion. The tempestuous ferocity of its astonishing opening scenes apparently portrays humankind (the chorus) at the mercy of the elements, but when Otello quells the storm with his triumphant "Esultate" and comes safe and sound to the harbour of his great love for Desdemona, everybody knows that just ahead waits his own passionate, emotional shipwreck.

Zeffirelli, who easily adapted the more short-winded numbers of La Traviata to the cinema, clearly considered Otello's through-composed extended forms too bulky and static for film: the music for both operas lasts two hours ten minutes, so sheer length was only a partial consideration since the film itself is over two hours.

Instead of sticking to the shapes and pace of the drama as Verdi devised, Zeffirelli has pulled the thing apart and reconstituted it — even to the extent of omitting entirely the Willow song from the last scene, and inserting extraneous dance music that Verdi wrote for Paris in 1896 on two occasions.

In effect, Zeffirelli has divided Verdi's sustained operatic structures into bite-size chunks that can then be presented as visually diverse scenes.

But the idea of opening-up Otello with mobile camerawork so that there's no risk of the ennui of a static drama inevitably runs contrary to its theatrical reality. Zeffirelli claims that his treatment of the Verdi is no more lese-majeste than Boito's adaption of Shakespeare.

In fact the opera develops further the growing claustrophobia of the play, the sense not of opening up but of closing down, until the whole *theatrical* universe is the tragic irony of that tangled couple on the bed. These things are hard to look upon, and what both play and opera suggest is the black gulf within the soul of man.

The film naively persists in exploring the faces, and becomes in the process one of the most revealing demonstrations of the limits of naturalism. Since a kind of vulgar theatrical realism has always been Zeffirelli's tactic, this Otello film turns out to be his Waterloo.

Water indeed is his downfall, from the very first moments. Verdi's opening metaphysical storm with its uncertain choral and individual punctuations and its persistent wind effect (organ notes in the score) and thunder and lightning flashes is utterly swamped, flooded with water. You can't practically hear the chorus or much of the music, and everybody is dripping with rain.

Boito says it's a stormy night: Zeffirelli films a Mediterranean monsoon day. Everybody rushes around getting wetter and wetter, and Domingo launches into the Esultate from the side of his ship almost at the dockside.

Naturalism never extends to the *musical* performances; the voices overwhelm the orchestra, which is itself artificially distorted and re-balanced so that it approximates to film music (with expressionistic cellos accompanying Otello's jealous entry later on magnified to giant proportions).

Rather more serious is Zeffirelli's interpretative distortion of the value of the central love relationship. The great duet, Gia nella notte densa, concluding with "Ancora un bacio," means for Verdi and for us spectators that Otello and Desdemona's affair in the first act of the opera is flawless. Iago's aspersions are mere wishful thinking on his part.

But the film-maker can and does shatter that confidence with a glance, before the duet, that tells us Otello is already jealous — that his sense of perfect love, not Iago's cynicism, is wishful thinking.

That, evidently, is why Prince Urbano Barberini was cast in (but does not sing) the part of Cassio: a blonde Roman scion of an ancient aristocratic house. Barberini physically resembles Katia Ricciarelli — and this, Zeffirelli feels, helps to explain Otello's so speedy suspicions.

Of course it also allows the film-maker, in a cutaway during Iago's description of Cassio's overhead "Dream" about Desdemona, to linger with carnal exaggeration over Barberini's naked torso. As so often in the film, one has the sense of artificiality. The conflict of emotions is dissipated in loose and flaccid byplay.

It is typical, sadly, that such an important detail as Otello's mimicking of Iago early in the second act ("But what should I be thinking?") is out and that the great concluding concertato of act 3 is bowdlerised. It is, admittedly, a moment of suspended cogitation by the assembled characters that scarcely fits the naturalistic term of this film — though Zeffirelli allows himself plenty of romantic hyperbole in the presentation of various famous scenes.

Otello sweeps up and down long stairways: Iago declares his Credo into a vertiginous circular courtyard; the first love duet with Desdemona takes place in or on bed after an interpolated wedding-feast; the handkerchief dialogue involves much peering through a Moorish screen; Desdemona makes great play in the final act with her (recently used) wedding-dress, pressing its whiteness to her face like a mother in a soap-powder ad.

Most tastelessly of all, after the final chords of the opera, Zeffirelli reprises the music for "one last kiss" as the end credits roll. Instead of the shock of Verdi's last word as written, we get a sort of dewy atmospheric romance.

Musical merits are mixed. It's hard to judge Maazel's work as he is not, in the film, conducting the opera Verdi wrote. Domingo sounds often magnificent, with the familiar richness of that superb instrument: the highpoint, and the best filmed Domingo sequence, is Diol mi potevi scagliar. Justino Diaz's Iago looks suitably urbane and sinister at the same time, and sounds appropriately dark — but does not terrify with his Credo. Katia Ricciarelli makes a visually charming Desdemona, but her singing is more husky than pure. The rest of the singing, dubbed on to actors' performances, is adequate.

But this is not the musical experience operagoers know. Whether it will thrill non-musical film buffs is another matter.

The best of the West

Michael Billington hails a dazzling new production by Trevor Nunn at Stratford's Swan Theatre

THE final production at Stratford-on-Avon's Swan Theatre this season is a conflation of the two parts of Thomas Heywood's The Fair Maid of the West. It emerges as a rip-roaring piece of popular entertainment suggesting Dick Whittington and Raiders of the Lost Ark have gone into partnership; and Trevor Nunn's stunning production both uses the versatility of the Swan to the full and signals his return to the theatre of humanity after his adventures amongst mechanistic West End musicals.

It would be a brave man who tried to summarise Heywood's bulging, picaresque plot. But the focus of the evening is the love of Bess Bridges, a Plymouth barmaid and Somerset tanner's daughter, for the dashing Captain Spencer: a love that survives separation and seeming-death. In fact when she thinks he has been killed in Essex's 1597 raid on the Azores, she uses his inheritance to fit out a *ship and sail there to redeem his body.*

He, of course, is still alive; and, after narrowly missing each other in a sea-battle, both turn up independently at the court of Mullisheg, King of Fez. Bess and Spencer are separately fancied by the King and his wife, Tota; and how they and their followers make their escape, with the aid of a Moorish Bashaw, is best left to the imagination.

We are not dealing here with, as you may have gathered, an imperishable masterpiece but with an exotic piece of pop-theatre about female fidelity, gang-loyalty and English adventuring. Heywood was a master-hack but the key-word in his two plays is "ecstasy"; and Nunn seizes on that to give us an ecstatic form of rough theatre in which the emphasis is on narrative speed, the transformation of simple props through imaginative belief and the use of music to heighten emotion rather *than as aural wallpaper.*

He cannot disguise a wilting thinness in Heywood's material towards the end of the evening; but what he has done is to apply elements of the English popular tradition, from panto to ballad-opera, to an Elizabethan-Jacobean piece.

An irreverent tone is established from the start when Joe Melia steps before us to announce "O, for a muse of fire," is booed and tries instead "In Troy there lies the scene," and is greeted with rotten apples and cries of "Give us The Fair Maid"; at this point Imelda Staunton stops serving at table and bravely agrees to play Bess Bridges from memory.

This immediately establishes the play's element of wish-fulfilment (it's a tavern-girl's dream) and its contemporary popularity while hinting at the way the company will be deployed throughout the building as spectators, barrackers and rumbling, chauvinistic commentators.

But why the production works is that it uses a good deal of sophistication to create simple-seeming effects. When Bess takes to sea, for instance, John Napier's design suddenly transforms the whole Swan stage into a ship: ropes are tethered to the rail running round the stage, a couple of canvas-sheets become two sails, benches and trestle-tables are arranged in step-formation to suggest multi-levelled decks.

It is infinitely more exciting than multi-million pound hi-tech design because it involves the spectator in an act of imaginative participation; and, when Bess's ship grapples with a Spanish galleon, a handful of muskets fired into the Swan galleries and one actor swinging across the stage on a rope instantly convinces us we are in the midst of a sea-battle.

You can hear Heywood's own invention flagging in the second half, set largely in the Moroccan court; and, once Bess and Spencer have been re-united, there is an air of desperate contrivance as they fend off their regal suitors through the use of the bed-trick.

But Nunn keeps the ball in the air by treating this act as pure pantomime with Joe Melia playing the King of Fez as a nervous despot constantly upstaged by the band and his two Bashaws. Donald McBride as Bess's Buttons-like servant even leads us in an audience-participation number; and Imelda Staunton, whose Bess is a lovely study in downright affection, and Sean Bean as her Fairbanks-like lover, hit the right note of careless rapture. (In Mr Bean's case, shinning down a rope, it's almost careless rupture.)

No masterpiece has been unveiled. But what Mr Nunn has done, with the help of Shaun Davey's score and excellent fights by Malcolm Ranson, is to rescue from the shadows a piece that shows just how much went out of our theatre when it became polite, genteel and middleclass.

BOOKS

Raising the Titanic again

Dan van der Vat on the myths and realities of a famous disaster

THE TITANIC, by Michael Davie (Bodley Head, £12.95).

FEW can have had more right to say "I told you so" than the retired merchant navy officer who wrote a short story in 1898 about a huge liner called the Titan hitting an iceberg. The tale was a warning against the reckless contemporary dismissal of the unparalleled danger from ice at sea, rather than the hubris implicit in overstretching current technology.

But life's uncannily detailed imitation of art when the Titanic struck an iceberg on her maiden voyage 14 years later is still the best-remembered *single disaster of* the Western world, with a permanent place in Anglo-Saxon culture as metaphor and myth.

Just as the ship seems set to sail over the horizon of folk-memory someone recalls it. There was Walter Lord's gripping 1955 book with its wondrously understated title, A Night to Remember; Lord Grade with his financial disaster movie Raise the Titanic, of which he ruefully said, "It would have been cheaper to lower the Atlantic;" or, more seriously, the recent American discovery of the ship's resting-place by today's advanced technology. There is also a Titanic Historical Society Inc., in Massachusetts, still publishing its quarterly.

Those familiar with Michael Davie's superior Sunday journalism will not be surprised that his book on the tragedy reads extremely well and is the product of thorough research into all aspects of the story, from the conception of the world's largest liner to the discovery of its grave three-quarters of a century later.

Mr Davie's book was already off the press when the American oceanographers exploded the theory that the Titanic's flank was torn open for 300 of its 880 feet in the collision. The hull crumpled like the side of a car, it now appears, when the 46,000-ton ship side-swiped the great iceberg at upwards of 20 knots — bash, not gash. The story still has no tidy ending.

She was not alone in having too few lifeboats and undersized watertight bulkheads. Contrary to one of the many legends which arose, neither her builders nor her owners claimed she was "unsinkable."

But her master, Captain Ernest Smith, should not have pounded along at night after several radio warnings of icebergs, even though he altered course to the south. He also skipped the usual Sunday morning lifeboat drill, which might have ensured that such boats as existed were filled to capacity when launched.

Captain Stanley Lord (no relation) of the Californian, a British cargo-liner, sensibly hove to for the entire night in the same area because of the ice. Inexplicably, however, he failed to respond until dawn to a series of distress rockets from the Titanic spotted by his crew. By the time he sailed for the scene, an hour or two away, the Carpathia (Captain Arthur Rostron) had picked up the 705 survivors and 1,522 people were dead.

Rostron became a hero, Lord was execrated, although the case against him would have drawn a verdict of Not Proven from a Scottish court, according to Mr Davie.

He casts strong doubt on many of the legends associated with the catastrophe. There was no man in drag who took advantage of the "women and children first" rule. The rich did not behave worse than the rest, nor were they favoured (except by their upper-deck cabins) in access to the boats.

But the ship's orchestra did play gallantly to the end, starting with ragtime and finishing with a hymn (not "Nearer, my God, to Thee" as reported but probably "Autumn" — which opens with the no less fitting line, "God of mercy and compassion, *look with pity on my* pain").

To this day someone given a task foredoomed to failure is sardonically likened to the master (or bandmaster), and irrelevant activity to rearranging the deckchairs, on the Titanic.

More usefully, the loss of the Titanic led to tighter shipbuilding standards and safety regulations, and to the foundation of the International Ice Patrol, which still functions. Not even the fate of her transatlantic rival, the smaller but much faster Lusitania, sunk by a U-boat, can rival the eternal allure of the Titanic tragedy.

She is as deeply embedded in languages and lore as she is in the bottom of the North Atlantic — the greatest ship ever to be lost in peacetime and a symbol of the blind faith in progress which was finally lost in the first world war.

The world of Jane Austen

By Christopher Driver

THE JANE AUSTEN HANDBOOK, edited by J. David Grey (Athlone Press, £29.50).

IT IS a rash man who describes affinity between Jane Austen and Mozart these days, unless it is for a bout of lese-majeste a la Amis. It may still be worth wondering what it is in our own perceptions that gives us an inexhaustible appetite for the fates and trivia of both: not just the dark period of neglect that followed their early deaths nor the happier survival of consistently amusing letters to read against the works; *but chiefly the curious* internal smile that steals up on an admirer who has read and re-read, heard and re-heard, enough to call up at will a delightfully turned phrase from a megabyte memory.

But even the most capacious memory needs help, and here are 500 pages of "handbook" to Jane Austen. Subtract 100 for Abigail Bok's painstaking concordance of proper names throughout the whole Austen corpus, from Volume the First to Persuasion, and we are still left with 64 essays of uneven length and merit, solicited by the (American) editor from scholars and dilettanti on both sides of the Atlantic.

Have you wondered whether Jane's letters were more or less efficiently delivered than our own, or how to play Speculation? Inquire within, but do not necessarily expect an answer. For Mr Grey's easy-going system, as of a Bingley among editors, is to let the great spread themselves and to let the small or the busy get away with little more than long footnotes on their chosen topics.

The first half of this policy works better than might be feared. David Lodge (on Form and Structure) and John Bayley (on Characterisation) show again how hard they find it to be boring or unoriginal. And though feminist criticism has certainly brought new life into Austen studies, Edward Copeland's piece on the "consumer revolution" of her time does more, with dowries and settlements and purchases of carriages or pianos, to bring out the counterpoint of feminine predicament and masculine opportunity (or the other way around). It all makes the sex war of the 1800s not less cruel, but certainly more intelligible, than it was.

In case you ask, the Food and Drink essay knows what white soup is but cannot rise to the subtlety of the signals Jane Austen hoists in this language. On Music, Patrick Piggott reminds us that although she was fluent on the pianoforte, she possessed no Mozart and very little Haydn. This would only be surprising if we could be confident that our favourite present-day female novelists would appear to better advantage, either for facility or contemporary taste.

Mortal men

By David McKie

THE OXFORD BOOK OF POLITICAL ANECDOTES, edited by Paul Johnson (OUP, £10.95).

THE ten ministers who lost their jobs in Mrs Thatcher's autumn clearance had every reason to feel sore about their fate. But at least they were spared the humiliations which sometimes attended such dismissals in the past.

Lord North, for instance, sacked Charles James Fox in 1774 with a letter which simply said: "His Majesty has thought proper to order a new Commission of the Treasury to be made out, in which I do not see your name"; an exercise in the heroically laconic which can rarely have been matched until the premiership of Attlee, who when asked by one of his victims why exactly he was to be dismissed, replied: "Afraid you're not up to it."

Even that seems positively kind compared with Lord Melbourne's response when the Lord Chancellor, Lord Brougham, challenged the decision to dispose of him (they did sometimes change Lord Chancellors in those days). "It would be difficult," Melbourne conceded "to point to any marked delinquency. I will, however, tell you that in my opinion, you domineered too much, you interfered too much with other departments, you encroached upon the provinces of the Prime Minister, you worked, as I believe, with the Press in a manner unbecoming to the dignity of your station, and you formed political views of your own and pursued them by means which were unfair to your colleagues . . ." But he added that he hoped that this incident would in no way interfere with their friendship.

The Oxford Book of Political Anecdotes is meant to be savoured at leisure. But one test of any such enterprise is how often it comes up with apposite tales like these to adorn contemporary events. There are already abundant signs that the Oxford Book will be repeatedly and gleefully pillaged.

Take Mrs Thatcher's reported concern that the next major episcopal appointment should do some*thing to redress the effect of* the choice that was made at Durham: Mr Johnson won't let you down there either. Walpole, he records, would ask of a likely bishop not — in Mrs Thatcher's favourite formula — "is he one of us?" but, still more brutally: "is he mortal?"; in other words, could he be bought?

Lord Halsbury, Salisbury's Lord Chancellor, often accused of misuse of patronage, was asked whether *ceteris paribus*, he'd appoint the best man available to some legal post: "*Ceteris paribus* be damned," he replied. "I'm going to appoint my nephew."

Adam Smith, according to Johnson, once went out into his garden in his dressing gown, set off down the path, and inadvertently walked to Dunfermline, some 15 miles away. But even that cannot match the poignancy of Lord Salisbury's retirement: when the King presented him with a signed photograph of himself — a signal honour — Salisbury scrutinised it for a while, shook his head, and mournfully observed: "Poor Buller."



A COUNTRY DIARY

LOCHINVER: I am still not sure why I stopped the car near the birch woodland — perhaps I did see something or was it a feeling that something was there. Even then I could see nothing until I looked through binoculars and gradually it took shape. There was part of an ear, half an antler, a lower jaw, an eye and part of a neck with the rest hidden by birch leaves and bracken. It was a deer — a sika stag — and despite the fact that it was only 15 yards from me I could only see it through the glasses. We stared at each other for minutes and then I did see some movement but for a while the movement was unexplained as the stag was still motionless. Then at last I realised that it was a pair of great tits foraging for food over the neck, head and antlers of the stag.

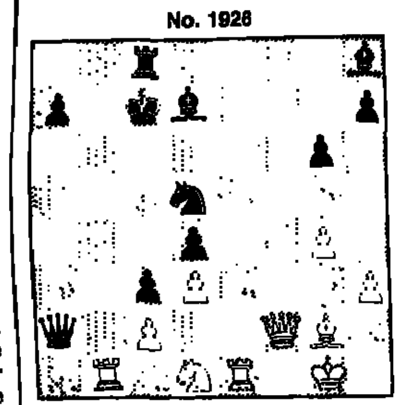
These sika deer are now common in these northern birchwoods that span the Ross-shire/Sutherland border on the west coast. They originated by escapes in 1949 from a great deer park at Rosehall, some 30 miles to the east. The first stags reached Lochinver in 1972 and at first — as on many other Highland estates — they were welcome with their shrill whistles echoing through the trees. Now these hybrids are so widespread that in certain areas the situation is out of hand. Indeed, pessimists say that if the spread of sika hybridisation continues the only pure strain of red deer will be on islands. One of the problems of containing the sika is that they are woodland animals and when they are found in the open they are always on the move. Thus the traditional red deer stalking method is of little use. Could it be possible that the days of the "Monarch of the Glen" are numbered?

Ray Collier

Chess

By Leonard Barden

No. 1926



D. R. Norwood v M. L. Hebden, Nat West Young Masters 1986. Black's queen has just captured White's QRP, and he seems to have compensation for his slight material deficit of bishop and pawn for rook. Britain's youngest IM, 18-year-old David Norwood of Bolton had seen further and forced a quick win which gave him shared first prize. What did White play?

Solution No. 1925

White K at QN8, Q at Q5, N at K2, P at QB5. Black K at KR8, Ps at QN2, Q2, K4, KB4, KN5 and KN7. Mate in three.

1 K-R7, zugzwang. Black has to allow the white queen to mate: 1 . . . P-N4 2 Q-QR8 and 3 Q-KR8, or 1 . . . P-Q3 2 QxNP, or P-K5 2 Q-Q4, or P-B5 2 Q-K4, or P-N6 2 Q-B3.

AFTER K v K, the next chess series should be K v Y. The loser of the current series, is now paired with the winner of the Sokolov v Yusupov candidates final. Yusupov, a 26-year-old huge shaggy bear of a man, leads his younger opponent by 3½-1½ in the best of 14 series and will probably win the match.

GM Andrei Sokolov — GM Artur Yusupov
French Defence
(3rd match game 1986)

1 P-K4 P-K3 2 P-Q4 P-Q4
3 N-QB3 B-N5 4 P-K5 N-K2
5 P-QR3 BxN ch 6 PxB P-QB4
7 N-B3 P-QN3 8 P-QR4

In the first game of the match, Yusupov met White's 8 B-N5 ch by an unorthodox, Nimzowitschian style queen manoeuvre: 8 . . . B-Q2 9 B-Q3 B-R5 10 P-KR4 P-KR3 11 P-R5 QN-B3 12 R-R4 P-B5 13 B-K2 K-Q2!? 14 B-K3 Q-KN1 15 Q-Q2 Q-R2. Black later gained space on the K-side with a pawn roller and broke through to win a long end game in 72 moves.

8 . . . B-R3 9 BxB NxB
10 O-O N-QN1 11 PxP?

A tame idea which concedes the initiative. Theory recommends 11 P-R5 PxRP 12 B-R3.

11 . . . PxP 12 P-B4 O-O
13 PxP NxP 14 Q-Q3 P-KR3
15 P-B4 N-K2 16 Q-K4 N-Q2
17 R-N1 Q-R4 18 R-Q1?

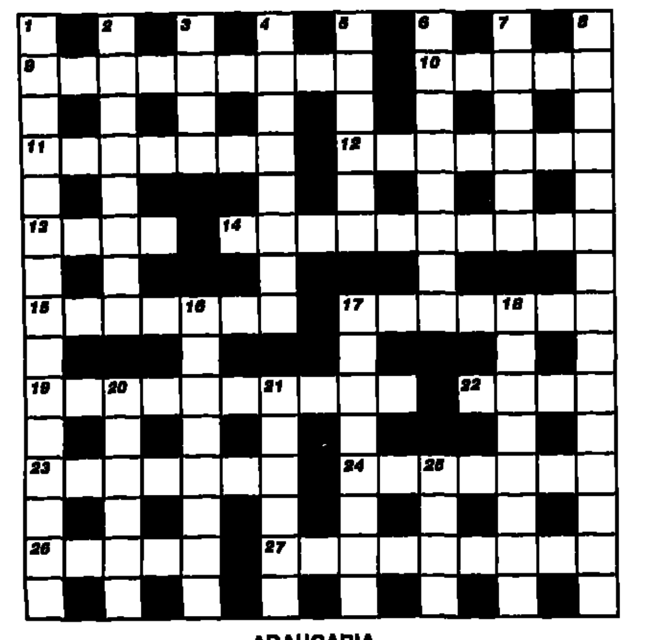
Missing a concealed tactical blow; better 18 Q-B2 at once, when Black continues N-QN3 or QR-N1 with good play.

18 . . . QR-Q1 19 Q-B2 NxP!
20 NxN Q-B6!

This virtually finishes the game. White can avoid 21 QxQ?? RxR ch but he loses a clear pawn and Yusupov's efficient technique ensures the full point.

21 Q-K2 QxN 22 B-K3 N-B4
23 Q-B3 RxR ch 24 RxR N-Q5
25 BxN PxB 26 Q-Q3 R-Q1
27 P-N3 Q-QB4 28 P-B4 Q-N5
29 R-R1 P-QR4 30 P-R4 P-R4
31 R-N1 QxRP 32 R-N5 P-N3
33 K-B2 Q-R7 ch 34 K-B3 P-R5
35 R-N6 K-N2 36 R-N1 K-N1
37 R-N6 Q-R6 38 K-K2 P-R6
39 R-R6 Q-N7 ch 40 Q-Q2 P-Q6 ch
41 Resigns.

If 41 K-K1 Q-Q5 42 K-B1 R-QN1 soon mates or wins the queen.



ARAUCARIA

ACROSS

9. A day gets Archer's character right out of R.S.A. (9)
10. Way that sounds radical (5)
11. Bags draw fruit (7)
12. Footwear without number for a school subject? (7)
13. Nurse with a number of old coins? (4)
14. A longbow do mischief? You'll need an ambulance (5-5)
15. Rock music? (7)
17. Aerial salute to insect that's extinct (3-4)
19. New ground for girls' lamps? (6, 4)
22. Swarm requires silence at home (4)
23. Plain and healthy (as "mens") without transport (7)
24. Spanish gentleman concealed a *student on leave* (7)
26. Beginning where film people act (5)
27. A dish, or a ship that passes in the night? (5-4)

DOWN

1. Wire box I can believe lost? (5, 10)
2. New or old or otherwise ailing (8)
3. Bird put into joint, one might say (4)
4. Was the basic reason for saving the carpet (8)
5. Magically fast, North End's left town (6)
6. Not the strait and narrow in New York or the Cotswolds (8)
7. Horse, perhaps, about to ruin retriever? (3, 3)
8. General advantages of gum? (10, 5)
16. Clay eaten by mistake will cause repulsion (8)
17. Cow due in marsh (8)
18. Untidy heap borne by beast away from the sun (8)
20. Parson is English: make some changes (6)
21. Pole in disreputable surroundings has a drink (6)
25. Roundhead? A favour may follow! (4)

RADIOGRAPHER
S U E R E A N
TESSERA ARRIVAL
A T M N L T E E
FELLING MAILLOT
F E N E A O T
SHRUG TIMELAPSE
U I A R
RICEPAPER ELBOW
G A A C M R R
EARDRUM HOUDINI
O M A E P L T T
NAILBED ABALONE
N L I S T N R
BENEFACTRESS

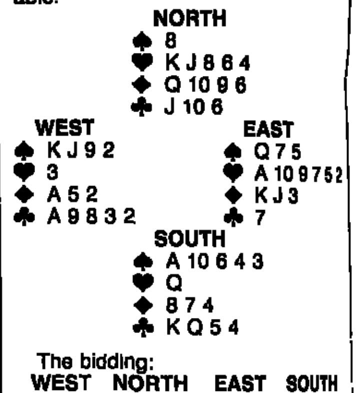
Bridge

By Rixi Markus©

SIXTY-SIX thousand pairs in 82 different countries sat down at the bridge table to play in the first Epson one-session Simultaneous Pairs World Championship. As one might expect, there were some remarkable scores, and the leading places were: 1, F. Fraisnais and V. Bouteille (France) 78.80 per cent; 2, A. Pennington and H. Gerrard (Wiltshire, England) 77.83 per cent; 3, Mmes Dunmortier and Thouzelier (France) 77.70 per cent.

I played with Michael Wolach, and our 67 per cent gave us 16th place in Britain, out of 1,413 pairs, and 169th place overall. Here are two hands which helped us on our way.

Dealer West; North-South vulnerable.



NORTH
♠ 8
♥ K J 8 6 4
♦ Q 10 9 6
♣ J 10 6

WEST
♠ K J 9 2
♥ 3
♦ A 5 2
♣ A 9 8 3 2

EAST
♠ Q 7 5
♥ A 10 9 7 5 2
♦ K J 3
♣ 7

SOUTH
♠ A 10 6 4 3
♥ Q
♦ 8 7 4
♣ K Q 5 4

The bidding:

WEST	NORTH	EAST	SOUTH
Marcus		Wolach	
1C	NB	1H	1S
Dble(1)	NB	NB	NB

(1) I have always been very aware of the points which can be won by well judged penalty doubles, even at low levels. This is the main reason why I am not a supporter of the currently fashionable negative doubles, which inevitably deprive the opening side of a large number of penalty double situations. It seemed to me that my hand was ideally suited for a penalty double of 1S on the above deal; the good trump holding, the singleton in partner's suit and the two sidesuit aces were all bad news for declarer.

As it happened, Michael Wolach's hand also contained good defensive values, and we were able to restrict the unfortunate declarer to just three tricks. That gave us a penalty of +1,100 on a board on which East-West had no makeable game contract, in spite of the favourable distributions in both diamonds and spades.

The match-point awards for the various results on each board were pre-determined and this added to the excitement of the event by enabling the competitors to calculate their exact score within minutes of finishing play. My partner brought us in 85 points out of 100 by making twelve tricks on the following deal.

NORTH
♠ A 3
♥ A K 4
♦ A 9 3
♣ J 8 7 6 4

WEST
♠ K 9 7 6 2
♥ 5
♦ K J 6
♣ A 5 3 2

EAST
♠ 10 5 4
♥ J 6 3 2
♦ Q 10 8 7
♣ Q 9

SOUTH
♠ Q J 8
♥ Q 10 9 8 7
♦ 5 4 2
♣ K 10

Michael Wolach played in 4H from the South hand, and he got off to a good start when West's opening spade lead was taken by the jack in the closed hand. However, the hand still required careful timing. Declarer crossed to dummy with a heart and and played a club to the ten, losing to West's ace. West now switched to a diamond, and my partner went up with dummy's ace and played a club to the king, bringing down East's doubleton queen.

A trump to dummy revealed the 4-1 break, but declarer was able to finesse the ten of hearts, draw East's remaining trump and cross back to dummy with the ace of spades in order to cash the three established club tricks. These provided discards for two diamonds and one spade, and South had managed to restrict himself to one loser, the ace of clubs.

Luton win Thatcher's support in anti-hooligan campaign

A RADICAL scheme to tackle hooliganism at soccer matches by barring supporters of visiting teams last week placed Luton Town high on the political agenda in England. The Prime Minister, Mrs Thatcher, was among those who condemned a decision by the English Football League to ban Luton from the Littlewoods Cup, once known as the League Cup, because the competition rules state that 25 per cent of match tickets must go to the visiting club supporters. No such ruling exists in normal League soccer.

Now, in response to the public debate over the scheme, the chairmen of the League's 92 clubs will vote on October 6 whether Luton should be reinstated into the cup competition. But there are still many people within the game who are worried over the principle of Luton's scheme in league or cup soccer. Robert Chase, chairman of the Norwich City club, said that it was unfair, while Gordon Taylor, secretary of the Professional Footballers' Association, said: "It could be argued that Luton are behaving in exactly the same way as the hooligans in trying to impose their anarchical rule on others."

The scheme followed the anguished public reaction last year to the tragedies at soccer grounds, dominated by the deaths at the European Cup final in Brussels. Mrs Thatcher was among those who suggested that clubs begin membership schemes, obliging spectators to carry special cards when attending matches. Most clubs, while acknowledging some merit in the idea, shied away from the administrative upheaval. Luton, whose chairman, David Evans, is a political supporter of Mrs Thatcher, decided this season to restrict home matches to members of the club's membership scheme. In part this followed crowd trouble at Luton over recent seasons, in the main involving visiting supporters. Evans has since indicated that next season they may consider extending the scheme to include away team supporters who are members of their clubs or season ticket holders. "But I cannot have any upset this season," he says. "No away fans will come to Luton Town this season."

Mrs Thatcher would like to see the scheme widened to other clubs and she also supports the idea that matches could be televised live for screening at the grounds of away teams. She hopes that the League will use "latitude and flexibility and say 'all right, Luton have done this thing. It is exciting, let's give it a chance'."

No English club, nor some in Scotland, can claim to be free of the hooligan problem in varying degrees of seriousness. At its worst people are killed — a Glasgow Rangers supporter died last week when a stone was thrown through the window of a bus carrying match supporters — but even at the trivial level the continuing hooliganism contributes to a continuing drift away of spectators from the game.

Hooliganism doesn't always include violence, of course. An example was widely televised on Sunday when Manchester United fell to their sixth defeat of the season in losing before an audience of millions, 1-0 to Chelsea. Unhappily the sound effects microphones picked up the gutter chanting of some sections of the crowd — and both clubs are infested with some of the game's ugliest characters.

United, meanwhile, continue to suffer on the pitch. They fell behind to a goal from Dixon after two minutes, then later saw the Chelsea goalkeeper, Godden, twice save penalty kicks. It all leaves United second from the bottom of the First Division, sharing four points with that other once famous club, Aston Villa. At least Villa saw some improvement in their form at the weekend when they drew 3-3 at mighty Liverpool, their first taste of hope since the arrival as manager of Billy McNeill, from Manchester City. For Liverpool the game was in frustrating contrast to their 10-0 win in midweek over Third Division Fulham in the Littlewoods Cup.

Nottingham Forest's rampant goalscoring form — they have twice scored six goals — came to a halt last week, but not their winning form in the First Division. In midweek they shared a goalless match with Brighton in the Littlewoods Cup, then beat Arsenal 1-0 in the League at the weekend. The only undefeated record in the First Division ended when Everton lost 2-0 at Tottenham Hotspur.

In Scotland Graeme Souness scored his first goal for Glasgow Rangers since joining them as player manager in the close season. It came in their 2-0 win over Aberdeen and rounded off a satisfactory week for Rangers. Earlier they had beaten the Premier Division leaders, Dundee United, 2-1 in a semi-final of the Skol Cup. In the final Rangers will meet their city rivals, Celtic.

☆ ☆ ☆

AN era in Yorkshire cricket ended last week with the decision not to offer another contract to Geoffrey Boycott, for 24 years the county's brilliant and controversial opening batsman. The decision by the club's general committee also ended speculation that had ranged from Boycott being offered the county captaincy again to his resignation from the committee. Neither happened, with Boycott staying a committee member and the club postponing a decision on the captaincy, which obviously will not include Boycott.

There was no repeat, however, of the Reform Group campaign of 1983, when Boycott was last dismissed, even though Boycott finished top of the Yorkshire championship averages last season with 890 runs at an average of 52.35. Instead the committee chairman, Brian Walsh, said: "We are confident as a group that he can be replaced and his place filled by the battery of talented players we have at our disposal, particularly among the young batsmen.".

The range of feelings over Boycott, particularly over what some saw as a private obsession with runmaking possibly against the interests of the team were perhaps summed up in two contrasting comments from a former teammate, Fred Trueman, the England pace bowler. In 1976 Trueman said at one stage: "Boycott must not only return as opener but he should take over as England captain." Six years later he said: "Yorkshire should have sacked Boycott 10 years ago."

Now 45, Boycott has had a prolific career. In 1,014 innings he has hit 48,426 runs at an overall average of 56.83, with a record 8,114 runs for England. He hit 151 centuries and was not out 162 times.

☆ ☆ ☆

BOYCOTT'S departure came in a week that saw a rare cricketing event, a tied Test match. It came in the opening match of the Test series between India and Australia in Madras when Maninder Singh was out lbw to Matthews off the penultimate ball of the match with the scores level. India at one stage needed only 18 runs from the last five overs with four wickets in hand. *Details: Australia, 574 for seven dec. and 170 for five dec.; India 397 and 347.*

☆ ☆ ☆

JAPAN'S touring rugby union team suffered two defeats in Scotland last week but continued to show the sort of improvement in their game that could eventually make them a problem in the inaugural World Cup next year. In midweek the stronger finishing of an Edinburgh side overwhelmed the Japanese 26-14 after the tourists had led 10-7 at halftime. But in the tougher arena of international rugby they again lacked weight and height in losing 33-18 to Scotland at Murrayfield. But they did score three tries, all directly from scrums through clean handling and swift passing.

☆ ☆ ☆

ANOTHER Welsh union player, Ray Giles, captain of Aberavon, is set to join the professional ranks of rugby league. Four clubs have offered him terms with a fee of £50,000. The English game has also lost a key player in the decision of Nigel Melville to retire at only 25 because of a recurrent neck injury. He is a former England captain and scrum half.

Alan Dunn's DIARY

SOCCER RESULTS

FOOTBALL LEAGUE — FIRST DIVISION: Coventry 1, Watford 0; Liverpool 3, Aston Villa 3; Luton 1, Manchester C 0. Norwich 2, Newcastle 0; Nottingham F 1, Arsenal 0; Oxford United 3, Charlton 2; QPR 0, Leicester 1; Sheffield W 2, West Ham 2: Tottenham 2, Everton 0, Wimbledon 2, Southampton 2 **Played Sunday:** Manchester U 0, Chelsea 1. **Leading positions:** 1, Nottingham F (p8, pts19); 2, Norwich (p8, pts17); 3, Everton (p8, pts16).

SECOND DIVISION: Birmingham 2, Ipswich 2; Crystal Palace 1, Reading 3; Grimsby 0, Barnsley 1; Leeds 3, Hull 0; Millwall 2, Blackburn 2, Oldham 1, Brighton 1; Portsmouth 1, Huddersfield 0. Shrewsbury 0, Bradford C 1, Sunderland 2, Stoke 0. WBA 2, Derby 0. **Postponed:** Plymouth v Sheffield **Leading positions:** 1, Oldham (p8, pts17); 2, Portsmouth (p7, pts15), 3, Crystal Palace (p8, pts15)

THIRD DIVISION: Bournemouth 2, Bristol City 0. Bristol R 2. Blackpool 2. Bury 4, Newport 3. Carlisle 1, Mansfield 2. Chesterfield 1, Notts C 2. Darlington 1. Chester 0, Doncaster 3. York 1; Fulham 2, Middlesbrough 2; Gillingham 2, Brentford 0; Port Vale 4, Walsall 1; Swindon 2, Rotherham 0 **Leading positions:** 1, Middlesbrough (p7, pts15); 2, Bournemouth (p7, pts15); 3, Gillingham (p8, pts14).

FOURTH DIVISION: Aldershot 0, Tranmere 2; Burnley 3, Halifax 0; Cambridge U 1, Lincoln 1; Cardiff 4, Hereford 1; Colchester 1, Peterborough 3; Crewe 1, Swansea 1; Northampton 2, Wolverhampton 1; Orient 2, Hartlepool 0; Preston 1, Torquay 1; Wrexham 0, Exeter 0. **Leading positions:** 1, Northampton (p7, pts16); 2, Swansea (p7, pts14); 3, Southend (p7, pts13).

FINE FARE SCOTTISH LEAGUE — PREMIER DIVISION: Dundee 0, Hearts 0. Falkirk 0, Celtic 1, Hibernian 1, Dundee United 1, Motherwell 0, Clydebank 1; Rangers 2, Aberdeen 0. St Mirren 2, Hamilton 1 **Leading positions:** 1, Dundee Utd (p9, pts15). 2, Celtic (p9, pts14); 3, Hearts (p9, pts14).

SCOTTISH FIRST DIVISION: Dumbarton 2, East Fife 1; Dunfermline 0, Airdrie 0; Forfar 2, Morton 2; Kilmarnock 0 Clyde 0; Montrose 3, Queen of South 4, Partick 1, Brechin 0 **Leading positions:** 1, Airdrie (p10, pts16), 2, Dunfermline (p10, pts16); 3, Queen of South (p10, pts13)

SCOTTISH SECOND DIVISION: Albion 3, Ayr 2; Arbroath 1, Meadowbank 2, Berwick 1, Alloa 2; East Stirling 0, Raith 5; St Johnstone 3, Queen's Park 0; Stirling 1, Stenhousemuir 0; Stranraer 1, Cowdenbeath 1. **Leading positions:** 1, Alloa (p8, pts15); 2, Raith (p8, pts12); 3, Meadowbank (p8, pts12).

GOLF: David Davies at St Andrews

Norman's men triumph

IT only took a relatively modest westerly, a steady 20mph and gusting, to destroy the scoring and Japan's chances in the Dunhill Nations Cup at St Andrews on Sunday. Australia, for the second time, won, and with Scotland taking the third place play-off, America were relegated to fourth place.

The margin was 3-0 to the Australians, with Rodger Davis (76) beating Jet Ozaki (81); David Graham (81) beating Joe Ozaki (82) and Greg Norman (73) beating Tommy Nakajima (76).

The best scoring in the second match on a difficult day came from Sandy Lyle and Raymond Floyd, both round in 73, one over par in beating respectively Lanny Wadkins and Sam Torrance (both 78). In the third game of that match Gordon Brand Jnr was three over in beating Mark O'Meara, who was six over.

The result confirms that the Australians, when a team of only three is required, are currently the best in the world. Whether they would be so in a more expanded format is doubtful, with even Norman admitting that the batting, beyond three or four, is distinctly tailender stuff.

The overall results also call into question whether the American team, runners-up last year, is the best available. None of the available criteria, either the US money list or the Sony world rankings, would have come up with anything like the team at St Andrews. In the money list Floyd was 15th, O'Meara 21 and Wadkins 23. In the rankings both Hal Sutton and Curtis Strange come before Wadkins and no fewer than nine Americans are ahead of Floyd.

Without what is undoubtedly the strongest nation, in depth, in the world in the final there was a distinctly melancholy air to Sunday's play. Attendances have been down all week, with 3,000 fewer attending this year than last and the persistent wind, strong enough to make walking unpleasant, also kept spectators hands in their pockets.

BOXING: W. J. Weatherby sees the welterweight title change hands in Atlantic City

Honeyghan rules three worlds

BRITAIN'S Lloyd Honeyghan on Sunday became the undisputed world welterweight champion when he forced the American, Donald Curry to retire with a badly cut eye at the end of the sixth round of their scheduled 12-round fight in Atlantic City.

The unbeaten Honeyghan, 26, was a 6-1 underdog against the previously unbeaten Curry, who is a year younger, but at a stroke the British, European, and Commonwealth champion demolished Curry, became Britain's second current world champion, and one of only two undisputed world champions, the other being the middleweight Marvellous Marvin Hagler.

The Jamaican-born Londoner had been regarded as a lamb to the slaughter, but by the time he forced Curry to retire the American had a long, deep cut under his left eyebrow and returned to his corner with his face a mask of blood. The referee, Octavio Meyram, of Mexico, called in two doctors to examine Curry's eye, and they decided at once that he could not go on fighting.

When Honeyghan was announced the winner by a technical knockout, he danced round the ring, rolled on the canvas, and hugged his manager, Mickey Duff, and his trainer Bobby Neil. Curry left the ring immediately for the Atlantic City medical centre to have his eye examined. Twelve stitches closed the cut and he was allowed to return to his hotel.

Honeyghan joked in triumph at the post-fight press conference that he now held six championships; as well as the three he arrived with, the undisputed title he won from Curry combined those of the World Boxing Council, World Boxing Association and the International Boxing Federation.

"That should put me in the Guinness Book of Records," said the excited new champion. "I achieved the goal I set for myself when I was 12 years old. My manager said he would make me a millionaire if I won tonight." Duff, sitting beside him, beamed and said: "And I will."

Honeyghan added: "I wanted to come over here and get the respect of the American people. I fought a couple of times in America before and looked real lousy. I guess that's one reason they made the fight. Who would take me seriously?"

Curry had been so boosted by the American media as the best fighter pound-for-pound in the world that it took some time for the sell-out audience in Caesar's Casino Hotel to realise that Honeyghan was not only holding his own against Curry but was dominating the fight.

There was a suggestion that Curry's cut was caused by an accidental butt, but of the six rounds they fought Honeyghan won four and Curry two according to two judges, and four rounds with one to Curry and one even according to the other.

From the opening bell Honeyghan went out to meet Curry as an equal, trading punches toe-to-toe and often out-punching him.

He stunned Curry with a right early in the second round and had the champion stumbling about the ring and holding on. He never allowed Curry to dominate, even in the clinches, where the American can be a master of destructive body shots.

Curry caught the challenger with a hard right in the fourth round, and as Honeyghan clinched to clear his head the champion's worried corner-men howled for their man to finish off the impertinent Briton.

But Honeyghan punched his way out of trouble, and in the fifth round had the champion stumbling backwards across the ring. By now Curry's corner had lost its confident air.

In the middle of the sixth round Curry's business manager rushed to the ringside crying "the champion's cut" as he saw his multi-million-dollar plans for future fights beginning to vanish. Honeyghan was punching Curry almost at will, and the champion was half-blinded by his own blood that splashed on to the Briton's shoulders.

Duff had flown in just before the fight from Miami incensed by the referee's and judges' treatment of another of his fighters, Cornelius Boza-Edwards, who had lost early on Saturday in Miami on points against Hector Camacho, the WBC lightweight champion.

Camacho often boxed on the retreat as Boza-Edwards plodded forward and was flattered by the scoring, 118-119, 116-112, and a ridiculous 120-108.

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Syrian diplomat 'aided

WEEKLY
The Washington Post

THE WEEK IN BRITAIN

by James Lewis

Kinnock kicks Labour into line

IF party unity could win elections, ... would undoubt- ...

to, some of the contents of which emerged this week, is likely to be a continuation of the last. The Housing Minister, Mr John Patten, set ...

Another sign of Tory anxiety was Mrs Thatcher's decision to appoint Mr Marmaduke Hussey to be the new chairman of the BBC. Mrs Thatcher is convinced that the corporation is in the hands of a ...

Vol. 135 No. 15 Week ending October 12, 1986

Information from the disinformers

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White House press spokesman Larry Speakes — "forked tongue".

The Washington Post

Caught Out In Lying

ALMOST ALL of government public information is an attempt not just to tell people objectively what is going on, but to make people believe one thing or another. This is an accepted form of government activity in the public arena — a way of bargaining, vying for advantage, putting a certain face on things, trying to work your will. Bluff, threat and "psychological war" are staples of both domestic politics and foreign policy. Journalists know it, expect it, deal with it every day by their attitude of skepticism and their techniques of inquiry and pursuit. They pride themselves on their ability to break through the government's masks and pretenses and to keep themselves from being used.

So what is different about the Reagan administration's effort revealed on page 17 to use the American press to destabilize the Libyan regime of Moammar Gadhafi? The word "disinformation" was used in a White House memo outlining the strategy, and in some newspapers last August there appeared stories taking at face value private official reports that opposition to Col. Gadhafi was brewing and a second American attack was in the works. Almost immediately, however, some press skepticism was evident. The Post, for instance, noted that there was "some suggestion that the United States is trying to psyche out the Libyan strongman by fomenting anxiety about what this country is planning." In any event, nothing in particular happened.

Continued on page 10

The Blackpool tea party

The Tories could still win

The Labour Party will fight the next election on a platform of unilateral nuclear disarmament, it decided last week, an issue that helped it to lose the last election. (Reports, pages 3, 4, 5.)

THE CONSERVATIVES have the means, the motive, and the opportunity to win themselves a third election. The means? Their electoral machine is in fair shape. They start with the enormous advantage of a huge majority to defend. They can choose the date of the next election. They have the great asset of government, which means they can dictate the political agenda. The motive? Mrs Thatcher wants the elusive hat-trick. She may even believe the current conceit that here is a three-term revolution. Certainly, a third Thatcher term would give her the chance to leave a more indelible Thatcherite imprint than has yet been achieved. What's more, it could spell an end to Labour hopes of winning an outright majority in the foreseeable future. And the opportunity? Look no further than the latest Observer/Harris poll, confirming that in spite of all that has gone wrong for them this year, the Tories are gradually strengthening in the polls at the expense of the Alliance. That 38 per cent poll rating (with Labour 41 and the Alliance 20) will do very nicely to be going on with.

There is, of course, a less complacent case to be made. That the revival is illusory, because it understates the Alliance's electoral base. Wait for the wounds of Eastbourne to heal and the softness of the Tory vote will be revealed once more, they say. That the Labour Party at 41 per cent and in roseate blush is looking like an election winner once again. That Mrs Thatcher, for so long a political asset to her party, now so irritates the voters that she has become a liability. That the party itself is tired of government and increasingly preoccupied with marginalia. That the party workers around the land are uneasy and critical. That the best talents (Messers Heseltine, Brittan, Parkinson, Prior) and some pretty fair ones too (Raison, Young, Heyhoe) are on the outside when they ought to be on the inside. That the Thatcher revolution has become an unguided missile, abandoning water privatisation and diluting social security reform, but fixated suddenly and arbitrarily on football hooliganism, drugs, or books showing men in bed together. In short, that its hour has gone.

Bomb disposal problem for Labour . . . page 4

Well, maybe it has. We certainly hope so. But there are certain stubborn realities about the political contest of the next eighteen months that impose agnostic caution. Nobody yet knows how defence is going to impact upon British politics in that period, especially as the trail winds on from Reykjavik. But it is at least a respectable empirical thought that the combination of Labour's non-nuclear stance and the divisions of the SDP-Liberal Alliance may work to the Tories' political advantage. It is at least arguable that a society in which millions flock to the share issues of privatised industries, and in which millions more are doing nicely out of the current pay surge is not going to be a society which cheers to the echo every social ownership pledge or redistributive tax plan. And it is always worth reminding yourself, after a weekend of spending announcements and hints, just how much more quickly a government can take a political initiative than any opposition. There are problems at Bournemouth, yes. But plenty of opportunities, too.

INSIDE

TRENCHERMAN HAMPERS

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INSIDE

... ...ears of ... central thesis so thoroughly vindicated. At my grammar school one was taught clearly to distinguish between the personality of a writer and the writing *persona* which emerged from the pages.

Any attack on the former was dismissed as being *ad hominem* and as such unworthy of the name of criticism. The personality of Mr Waugh need be of little concern to his reading public. The question whether or not he has stopped beating his wife is something best left to the competent authorities; likewise the question of whether or not he is "seedy" is something best left to his wife.

As for the latter, the *persona*, (that's Latin for "mask", Polly) — from the moment of publication it ceases to be the writer's exclusive property but is rather a mirror held up to society, and what society makes of it is just as much a reflection of and on that society. Of course the mirror may have defects, both accidental and deliberate; it may be the fairground type that twists its image into a grotesque caricature. Such questions are legitimate material for criticism.

Quite without any guidance from Toynbee or Waugh, one had come to see Auberon Waugh *qua persona* as the thinking man's Alf Garnet. The message, in so far as there had to be one, was the time-honoured maxim: Learn how to behave from those who cannot. The analogy certainly extends to the social impact which both characters have had. As the creator of Alf discovered to his horror, many of his most devoted viewers took him completely at face value — a fate which, as Toynbee notes (and unwittingly exemplifies), is also overtaking our Auberon. I suspect it is this coarseness of perception, more than anything else, which has led him to despair of the products of our contemporary education system.

One final thought: if it is true that Waugh is "rather thin skinned," it must surely point to courage, rather than cowardice, that he writes the way he does.

D. L. Pendlebury,
23000 Dungun,
Terengganu, Malaysia.

...ing French and ...merican warships, assembling in Sydney harbour for this occasion.

Some of these warships, probably six, will be armed with nuclear weapons, a fact conceded by Rear Admiral David Martin, Flag Officer, Naval Support Command, who in a recent broadcast stated that "inevitably some of these ships will be carrying nuclear weapons".

HMS Illustrious is a British light aircraft carrier which prob... ...oming to Sydney, a protestor was brave enough to ride his surfboard to the prow of the Illustrious and to hang on to the prow for five minutes as it sailed into the harbour. Only by bashing his fingers with a pole and ramming his board could the Water Police dislodge him.

His protest is supported by many people here who believe that bringing warships with nuclear weapons into the heart of our harbour threatens the security of the millions of people whose homes surround it. They are targets for ... ...to Britain, the US and France.

The bombing of Greenpeace in New Zealand's Wellington Harbour, however small scale, is an indication that a country might go to these lengths.

People in Britain should recognise that visits by their nuclear armed warships are not welcome in Australian ports and we do not believe these visits are an expression of goodwill.

Janet Fischer,
Assistant Secretary,
Eastern Suburbs Nuclear
Disarmament Group,
Sydney.

... of Edwina

Mrs Edwina Currie's latest outburst is a disgrace for a health minister. Patronisingly she tells Northerners that "their relatively poor health was due in part to their own ignorance".

First, it is simply wrong to suggest that higher sickness and death rates have nothing to do with poverty and involuntary unemployment. There is a wealth of research which shows causal relationships. In day-to-day clinical and lay experience, health professionals, relatives and neighbours witness, for example, how unemployment can lead to serious depression, or how poverty can lead to hypothermia, malnutrition and homelessness.

Second, where Mrs Currie gets something right — yes, we do spend too much on alcohol and crisps — she evades her ministerial responsibilities. Preventing accidents and sickness would be greatly helped if Mrs Currie and her colleagues tackled the quite unethical promotion of tobacco, alcohol and junk food.

Mrs Currie and her colleagues daily seek to impress the electorate with the propaganda that the NHS is treating more patients than ever. The truth is that NHS staff are having to treat many patients who have accidents or illnesses largely or wholly as a result of government policies. Those policies have massively increased unemployment, poverty and homelessness, they have sabotaged health and safety regulations and resources, and they have failed to curb physical and psychological pollution.

On August 9, the British Medical Journal published an editorial entitled "The need for a public health alliance." One of the main arguments advanced was that "there are issues on which the health message does not come through nearly as strongly as it should. These include poverty, unemployment, housing, and homelessness."

The biggest obstacle to the reinvention of public health in Britain is money.

(Dr) Peter Draper,
Ashburnham Grove,
London SE10.

Perhaps Mrs Currie will take comfort from the fact that while the undeserving poor are always with us, they don't live as long.

N. Saunders,
London, NW.

Plane-makers must build-in safety

We are greatly encouraged that British Airways considers that its unfortunate and tragic loss of 55 souls at Manchester will initiate a long overdue turning point in international air safety. We are, however, somewhat sceptical. Since the 1960s there has grown a well documented body of evidence concerning the irrefutable risks to passengers from the continued widespread use of toxic materials in aircraft cabins. For purely economic reasons the continued use of these synthetic and highly dangerous substances has continued all over the globe, encouraged by both airlines and by manufacturers.

Students of airline safety like ourselves, who have flown many thousands of intercontinental miles, know that as long as the public remains complacent and allows itself to be side-tracked by the advertising gimmicks of airlines rather than concerned by illegitimate safety hazards, the economies of operation will always count in preference to considerations of passenger safety. Sadly, it takes a "survivable" catastrophe to point this out to us yet one more time.

This "acceptable risk" syndrome is even quasi-legalised by sections of the British Civil Air Regulations and the European Joint Airworthiness Regulations which refer to "remote" failures being "allowed to occur once in every 100,000 hours of flight".

British Airways has an excellent record of air safety and would be well placed to begin such a turning point in passenger safety consideration. Would they also please reinstate the two emergency exits which they somewhat arbitrarily deleted from their Boeing 747s in 1985, against the advice of the FAA and against the operational practice of all other major airlines flying the 747?

Keith Partington,
Lynne Marie Partington,
Newlin Ave,
Whittier,
California.

Treaty infringement that shows up on radar

The British government contends that a new American early-warning radar at Fylingdales Moor will be "legal" under the 1972 ABM Treaty. To date, however, neither ministers nor journalists with access to Whitehall reasoning have been able to explain convincingly how this can be so.

Radars forming part of permitted missile-interception systems, known as "ABM radars," can indeed be modernised under Article VII of the treaty. However, this cannot apply to Fylingdales because, on the US side of the treaty, any such "modernisable" radar must be sited within 150 kilometres of Grand Forks, North Dakota.

The primary function of both past and proposed radars at Fylingdales is stated to be that of providing early warning of missile attack. The United States and Soviet Union have expressly agreed, under Article VI (b), that "future radars" for that purpose must be "at locations along the periphery of national territory and oriented outwards."

The treaty and its supporting documents contain no provisions for that geographical restriction to be relaxed in the case of new early-warning radars built at existing sites, as it is now intended to do at Fylingdales.

This point was clearly established at a Senate hearing on the Treaty, in which Senator Percy asked why the United States had accepted Article VI "which prohibits the future deployment in third countries of early warning radars". Ambassador Smith, the chief US negotiator, replied that neither side "believed that it is necessary to deploy future radars for early warning of strategic ballistic missile attack in third countries . . . Therefore . . . the sides agreed to prohibit such deployments".

The Soviet Union has already complained to the United States that the Fylingdales radar development would be in breach of the Treaty, and that she has stated her intention of raising the issue at the joint Standing Consultative Commission in Geneva, which has the unenviable task of resolving such issues between the parties.

Rip Bulkeley,
Lonsdale Road,
Oxford.

Restrictive student loans

I read with great dismay recently news of current attempts to introduce student loans yet again. Make no mistake about it, if loans are introduced, those from poor and humble backgrounds will simply not go to university.

It works like this: a schoolchild's concept of the value of money is directly related to parental income. What may seem a small amount of money to borrow to a rich child may seem a fortune to a poor child who will further know that Daddy cannot bail him or her out in case of difficulties.

I myself was lucky, and had a full grant to go to university, but I would not have taken a loan. This sure knowledge does not stem from a political belief or a cloth-cap and boots approach to borrowed Tory money, but the sheer size of the loan necessary would have frightened the pants off me, and this combined with the strong protestant belief of never borrowing money would have ensured that I wouldn't have had a hope in hell of ever going to university. And what government today can assure even a graduate of a job with which to pay back a loan?

No, the argument is as true today as ever — if a student loan system is introduced, poor kids will not go to university, it's as simple as that.

(Dr) Christopher Green,
Mafeking Terrace,
Boston, Lincs.

Indignities Luton inflicts on law-abiding fans

With all the press and Government abuse heaped on the Football League for excluding Luton Town from the Littlewoods Cup, could I, as a Luton member and supporter, express my delight at the decision!

The Luton ban on away supporters has been dishonestly presented as an operation to cut out the hooligan element and leave all else untouched. Little has been said about the death of the traditional atmosphere of the football ground: the potential destruction of the Saturday entertainment of many families and individuals alike: nor of the mass stigmatising of thousands of innocent football supporters. Nor has anyone highlighted the indignities suffered by the Luton football public.

They are already grossly overcharged for entry and programme, they are now subject to saturation policing, identity checks and camera surveillance. Yet high police costs were cited as a reason for the ban!

Curtailments of civil liberties in one area of society will before long be applied elsewhere. The problems of violence are not solved by turning football grounds into mini police states: at best this may push the violence back into the home and the family, where it poses no threat to Government bluster.

Edmund Horton,
Arcadia Gardens,
Oakington, Cambs.

While I sympathise with Luton Town in respect of past experiences, their predicament poses one question. What is the position of supporters of football itself? Some of us actually go to enjoy our national winter sport without being "fans" of the particular clubs. Like the Alliance in politics, do we fall foul of an adversarial system epitomised by the layout of the House of Commons and its attendant moronic behaviour.

Paul B. Rose,
King's Bench Walk,
Temple, London EC4.

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Syrian diplomat 'aided El Al terrorist'

By a Staff Reporter

THE Syrian ambassador to Britain tried to help the escape of a Jordanian terrorist in London who had tried to place a bomb on board an Israeli jet at Heathrow Airport last April, an Old Bailey jury was told on Monday.

Prosecuting counsel, Mr Roy Amlot, said that Nezar Hindawi, who was working for Syrian intelligence, was "warmly greeted" by the ambassador, Dr Loutof Allah Haydar, shortly after Mr Hindawi duped his girlfriend into attempting to carry a bomb made of powerful military explosives on to the plane.

The bomb was primed to explode when the plane was flying 39,000 feet over Austria, on route to Tel Aviv. Had it gone off, all 375 people on board would almost certainly have died.

Details of the attempted bombing emerged during the opening day of Hindawi's trial at the Old Bailey. Mr Hindawi, a 35-year-old Jordanian, has denied attempting to blow up an El Al jumbo jet on April 18. He has also pleaded not guilty to possession of a Browning pistol and 25 bullets.

Opening the prosecution case, Mr Amlot said that there was convincing evidence that Mr Hindawi was acting in concert and on behalf of a group called the Jordanian Revolutionary Movement.

Mr Hindawi is alleged to have duped his Irish-born girlfriend, Miss Ann Murphy, aged 32, who was pregnant, into carrying the bomb. It was discovered in the bottom of a case Mr Hindawi bought for her after a search by El Al staff at Heathrow.

Mr Hindawi is said to have been handed the case when he stayed with Syrian Arab Airlines employees at the Royal Garden Hotel in Kensington a few days earlier.

Mr Amlot said that the bomb contained just over three pounds of plastic explosive manufactured in Czechoslovakia.

Mr Amlot said that Miss Murphy was "no suicide bomber" but rather a "simple Irish girl". She had begun an affair with Mr Hindawi shortly after her arrival in London in the autumn of 1984. She worked as a chambermaid at the Park Lane Hilton Hotel. She became pregnant by Mr Hindawi who eventually agreed to marry her. In April, she said he made plans for them to fly to Israel for a wedding in the Holy Land.

When the discovery of the bomb at 9.10am was publicised, Mr Hindawi sought refuge in the Syrian embassy, Mr Amlot said. After contacting Damascus, the ambassador arranged for him to hide in a safe house in west London. He was to have his hair dyed there and, the following day, make his way back to the embassy.

However, Mr Hindawi is said to have panicked and gone instead to the London Visitor's Hotel in Holland Road, where he was recognised.

When he was arrested, Mr Hindawi had a Syrian passport, "normally issued to government officials," in the name of Issam Shair which contained a special visa for entry into Britain, Mr Amlot said.

Libyan air link to end

By Alan Travis

THE Government has decided to end all direct flights between Libya and Britain, following evidence given in an Old Bailey trial last week that a man in Libyan Arab Airlines uniform had taken grenades to Heathrow airport.

Mr John Moore, the Transport Secretary, said: "The involvement of Libyan Arab Airlines in support of terrorist activity makes it inappropriate, in the Government's view, for air services between the two countries to continue." The air services agreement between the two countries expires on October 31 and will not be renewed. Ten Libyan airline staff based here are likely to be expelled as a result.

The decision will also affect British Caledonian, which suspended its flights on the Libyan route in July after a former B-Cal jet was resold to Libya in defiance of European sanctions, without the airline's knowledge.

The route has proved lucrative for B-Cal and the airline had hoped to resume flights shortly, but the end of the agreement will mean they have no legal basis to fly into Tripoli. Libyan Arab Airlines has two flights a week between Tripoli and Heathrow. Security at Heathrow will be increased until the agreement expires.

New paper launched

By Patrick Wintour

THE NEW quality newspaper, The Independent, went on sale on Tuesday with a print run of roughly 600,000 — some 50,000 fewer than planned — because of problems at one of the four regional printing centres.

The managing director, Mr Douglas Long, said that technical difficulties at the plant in Sittingbourne in Kent were largely being overcome by extra production at the other presses in Portsmouth, Bradford and Peterborough, but there was a shortfall.

It is the first up-market daily national newspaper to be launched in Britain since the Daily Telegraph and Courier 131 years ago.

Mr Long said the target circulation was 375,000.

Thirty dummy issues of the paper have already been produced with a print run of 580,000 in a distribution dress rehearsal.

The paper is being directly input by journalists, bypassing the traditional role of the NGA typesetter.

FOREIGN EXCHANGES

	Sterling Rates October 6	Previous Closing Rates
Australia	2.2560-2.2700	2.2670-2.2710
Austria	20.13-20.16	20.21-20.24
Belgium	59.42-59.53	60.85-60.66
Canada	1.9909-1.9937	1.9966-1.9996
Denmark	10.79-10.80	10.85-10.88
France	9.37-9.39	9.40-9.42
Germany	2.8629-2.8670	2.87-2.88
Hong Kong	11.21-11.22	11.20-11.21
Ireland	1.0515-1.0525	1.0560-1.0570
Italy	1,980-1,985	1,987-1,992
Japan	221.80-221.97	221.55-222.00
Netherlands	2.2352-2.2396	3.24-3.26
Norway	10.51-10.53	10.62-10.67
Portugal	208.58-210.17	210.75-212.33
Spain	189.52-189.80	190.28-190.58
Sweden	9.83-9.84	9.86-9.87
Switzerland	2.32-2.33	2.332-2.336
USA	1.4390-1.4400	1.4405-1.4415
ECU	1.3749-1.3766	1.3805-1.3829

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THE WEEK IN BRITAIN — by James Lewis

Kinnock kicks Labour into line

IF party unity could win elections, Mr Neil Kinnock would undoubtedly be the next Labour occupant of 10 Downing Street. Even the party's opponents were of one voice in agreeing that last week's Labour conference, beneath the pinky-red rose emblem and with background strains of Brahms, was far and away the most harmonious since Mrs Thatcher took office in 1979.

Not a voice was raised against the scrapping of nuclear weapons and the closing of American nuclear bases. Or against the new concept of social ownership, which the party hopes will be electorally less unpopular than nationalisation but which, nonetheless, offends against the all-important clause 4 of Labour's constitution. There was some dispute about scrapping the nuclear energy programme, but the conference agreed that this could take as long as twenty years to accomplish. Since this presupposes four successive Labour governments, opponents of the policy — mainly those working in the industry — went away feeling that their jobs are safe.

Partly, at least, the Labour hierarchy achieved its objective of outward unity by keeping boat-rockers well away from the rostrum. And those Atlanticists who, a few months ago, might have voiced some misgivings about the threat posed to Nato by the anti-nuclear policy, were reduced to silence by the anti-Americans whose arguments have been greatly strengthened by the raids on Libya mounted from US bases in Britain.

Defence, however, has always been an issue on which the electorate tends to side with the Tory position, and Mrs Thatcher and her Ministers were expected to launch a vigorous attack on Labour's unilateralist stance at the Conservative conference which opened in Bournemouth this week. Dr John Gilbert, a former Labour defence minister, paved the way with a warning that Mr Kinnock would be leaving the country naked to nuclear blackmail.

The commitment to throw out all American nuclear bases "within a year," as Mr Kinnock promised, produced a volume of barbed questions from military strategists who wanted to know whether Labour had given any serious thought to the practical difficulties of bringing this about. Service chiefs also expressed anxieties. The chief of the defence staff, Admiral Lord Lewin, said that if an incoming Labour government rejected the service chiefs' advice, it was possible that some or all of them might feel obliged to resign.

The next Conservative manifesto, some of the contents of which emerged this week, is likely to be a continuation of the last. The Housing Minister, Mr John Patten, set a target for another million home-owners (most of them tenants encouraged to buy their their council homes) in five years. There will be more privatisation, more trade union "reform" and a continued commitment to reduce direct taxation. There is even a proposal to offer tax relief to people who pay for their own health care, though this does not enjoy unanimous Cabinet approval.

Neil Kinnock: unity assured

The threat to sterling, however, cast an ominous shadow over the conference. The "non-interventionist" Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr Nigel Lawson, ordered the Bank of England to block a threatened rise of one to two per cent in interest rates. But Mr Lawson's relations with the bank are poor, and it was thought that the intense pressure on the pound could not be resisted indefinitely, however embarrassing a rise in interest rates might be to the Government.

Though Tory leaders went around saying that a general elections is more likely to be in 1988 than next year, the party clearly accords unusual importance to this year's conference and would certainly not want the event upstaged by the Reagan-Gorbachev meeting. This was thought to explain the refusal — confirmed by Washington, though not by Downing Street — to accede to the Russians' desire to hold the conference in London rather than Iceland.

Another sign of Tory anxiety was Mrs Thatcher's decision to appoint Mr Marmaduke Hussey to be the new chairman of the BBC. Mrs Thatcher is convinced that the corporation is in the hands of a Marxist mafia and her party chairman, Mr Norman Tebbitt, has set up a monitoring unit to assemble supporting evidence. "Duke" Hussey, a supposed union-basher as managing director of Times Newspapers, was never thought of as a runner for the BBC job and his brief, according to Conservative Central Office, was to "get in there and make it bloody clear — in days and not months — that things have got to change."

An inquiry into the pay of Scottish teachers recommended that they should be given a rise of 16.4 per cent over the next 18 months, which is nearly four times what the Government reckons should be the norm for public sector pay. The disruptive 18-month dispute over teachers pay has been particularly damaging in Scotland and the Government is thought to be prepared quite a heavy price for a permanent end to the troubles in schools. Any pay deal, however, would still have to be accompanied by binding contracts, setting out teachers' duties, which the profession might be unwilling to accept.

The jobs of British Aerospace workers were guaranteed for at least two years by an order, placed by Northwest Airlines of America, for up to a hundred A320 Airbus airliners. The aircraft is built by the European Airbus Industrie consortium, in which BAe has a 20 per cent stake. The order, worth £2.3 billion, will thus be worth at least £400 million to the British company.

The Archbishop of Canterbury, Dr Robert Runcie, said he was dismayed at a clear disregard of church regulations by a woman priest who celebrated Holy Communion in defiance of church law. The offender was the Rev Joyce Bennett, who was ordained a priest in Hong Kong and who held the service at Church House, Westminster, in the presence of a bishop, a dean and more than 30 other clergymen, after a meeting of the Movement for the Ordination of Women.

The Archbishop, who was in the United States on a lecture tour when he heard of the infringement, ordered an immediate inquiry into how it came about. The Bishop of Kingston, the Rt Rev Peter Selby, who was present at the service, said that the event would make it even more clear that "the rule (banning the celebration of communion by women ordained abroad) is simply not sustainable."

Dealer makes quick £1,366,000 profit on 'Titian'

By Donald Wintersgill

AN old master which was sold at Sotheby's in April for £33,000 has been resold to the Kimbell art museum, Fort Worth, Texas, for almost $2 million (about £1.4 million).

The painting is of the Madonna and Child with St Catherine and the infant St John the Baptist. Sotheby's catalogued it as by the "studio of Titian," which means that in Sotheby's opinion it is by an unknown hand in the studio of Titian and might or might not have been painted under Titian's direction.

But the dealer who bought it at Sotheby's, Mr Piero Corsini of New York, believes that it is by Titian himself. The price he paid is in the opinion of a leading London dealer, too little for a genuine Titian and too much for a studio work.

But attributions bedevil many old masters. This one appeared on the market without documentation about its history, which counts against it to some extent.

On the other hand, X-rays have revealed that the figure of St John was originally on the left but was painted over and put instead on the right. This suggests that the painting is not a straightforward copy, although it may still be by a follower of Titian.

Mr Eric Turquin, of Sotheby's old master department, said: "I believe it is a studio painting but I am open to change my mind.

"We showed it to an expert on Titian, Mr Charles Hope of the Warburg Institute, who thought it a studio work. The painting was in an important sale of old masters and the other dealers did not think it was by Titian.

"Mr Corsini was the only bidder and he secured the picture just on the reserve price. The picture is definitely of the mid-16th century but has weak passages. Mr Corsini has been brilliant if he has bought a Titian so cheaply."

Other versions of the Madonna and Child with the two saints are known. One is in the National Gallery and there have never been doubts that it is a Titian. It has St John the Baptist on the left. "Studio" versions are also known.

An observer of the art market said: "The painting sold at Sotheby's may be accepted by scholars as a Titian but it will never be a great painting. Very few paintings by him can be described as poor, unless they have been damaged or re-painted."

Bomb disposal crisis for Labour

Scilla McLean on the tricky diplomacy of unilateral nuclear disarmament

LABOUR'S non—nuclear defence strategy requires not only the dismantling of a number of individual decisions, but the reversal of an entire policy which has grown steadily over 40 years. There are no existing mechanisms for such a reversal, no procedures and few precedents. Labour will be confronting not a single powerful and permanent establishment, but a dozen establishments strongly opposed to some aspects of its policy.

A party seeking power will need to analyse in advance the kind of opposition to its policies which may be expected, both before and after an election.

The Oxford Research Group was asked by the Opposition Front Bench to do a preliminary study of the problems of implementation of Labour's defence policy. The study sets out the issues in Labour's defence policy, in order of the depth of opposition which they are likely to provoke, starting with the least contentious — the cancellation of Trident.

TRIDENT:

The warhead programme for Trident is already far advanced, and has necessitated the building of a £300 million new facility at Aldermaston. There will certainly be irritation within the Procurement Executive of the Ministry of Defence and the Strategic Systems Executive; but in fact, since Trident can be cancelled without altering the substructure of nuclear defence and could, under *certain circumstances*, be reintroduced after five years, the opposition from those areas would not be great.

More opposition could be expected from the Office of Management and Budget within the Ministry of Defence, because of the costs and waste involved in cancellation. US opposition to Trident cancellation will be quite mild, no more severe than would be expected with the loss of a client state for missiles: the number of warheads contributed to Nato's overall nuclear capability is not significent in Pentagon terms.

The US nuclear bases:

The second issue is the removal of all nuclear weapons from bases in Britain, while maintaining the US bases themselves. The National Security Council in Washington will take this more seriously, but it remains in the nature of an inconvenience as long as delivery systems remain in place: in time of international tension the warheads can be flown back in.

Holy Loch is a separate question. It is not a base, but a support ship moored in British waters. While not needed for US Trident submarines, it may be essential for sea-launched cruise missiles. The Pentagon and State Department would therefore make every effort to negotiate a special case for Holy Loch.

Removing cruise:

The removal of cruise missiles, the third issue in order of likely opposition, is viewed with much more seriousness by Nato. As perceived by the Nato Nuclear Planning Group, it could be the death-blow to the entire troublesome strategy of placing intermediate range missiles in Europe. If Britain won't have cruise, why should Italy and Germany have cruise and Pershing II? The fragile Dutch and Belgian decision to station missiles would almost certainly collapse. If this part of a Labour government policy appeared likely to become a reality, pressure on Britain's representatives within Nato both before and after an election would be very substantial. *[The Iceland summit this weekend, however, is likely to consider the future of missiles in Europe—Ed.]*

The removal of British officers from senior Nato command positions could be proposed, the withdrawal of US troops from Europe would be threatened, diplomatic cooperation in some areas could be withdrawn by the State Department, economic reprisals would become a real possibility.

Polaris:

The fourth issue is the phase-out of Polaris and withdrawal of British tactical nuclear weapons. The Foreign Office, if it perceived this as becoming a reality, would be *fraught, in the words of one senior* official, by "frantic diplomatic anxieties." France would become the only European power with nuclear weapons. West Germany might be pulled into an exclusive pro-French orientation.

The Chiefs of Staff would react to this issue on more specific grounds: they would fear a crucial loss of confidence between US and UK services, especially between the Royal Navy and the US Navy, where there is a vibrant mutual loyalty. In the deeper recesses of the Ministry of Defence the much praised and much prized Strategic Systems executive, which has managed the British side of the missile and submarine collaboration with great efficiency, would not fail to point out that in 1984 the pivotal mutual defence agreement between Britain and the US was updated and extended for 10 more years.

The key question is whether the *National Atomic Coordinating Offices*, and Joint Working Groups would be disbanded. These transatlantic groups of civil servants are the lynchpin of nuclear development between Britain and the US, and have functioned quietly and efficiently out of the public eye for 25 years.

Nato's Nuclear Planning Group, which brings together ministers of defence of Nato nations, and more importantly Nato's High Level Group, which is chaired by Mr Richard Perle, will see the phase — out of Polaris as a withdrawal of UK commitments under the Brussels treaty.

Their reaction would not mark time until the results of an election: the British press would be assiduously persuaded of the folly of such actions. Arm twisting within Nato has not infrequently in the past overcome consideration of the reservations of the electorate on much less fundamental issues.

Should all US bases go?

If Labour's plans ultimately extend as far as the removal of US bases from Britain, in the eyes of the US National Security Council this would be tantamount to British departure from Nato. It would mean the loss of an essential intermediary with Europe, not to mention the strategic blow of the loss of forward bases. If this move were to include the intelligence gathering facilities, it would mean the end of US/UK intelligence links, upon which the Ministry of Defence relies for a host of essential targeting information, as well as the basis for its estimate of Russian threat.

US intelligence services have had substantial numbers of staff based in Britain since 1950. The US reaction to New Zealand's port ban on nuclear-armed ships — the removal of the entire structure of US/New Zealand defence cooperation, including all intelligence information — is an eloquent indication of the scope of US reaction to this move — at least 100 times as important in US eyes.

That there would be economic reprisals seems highly likely. Neil Kinnock's protestations of sovereignty would ring hollow over an empty pound. US cooperation could be withdrawn, not only in the area if intelligence but in all geo-strategic areas of the globe. For example, the British situation in the Falklands could become untenable. In precise terms, the US could refuse to continue to supply the highly enriched uranium upon which our nuclear-powered submarines (which Labour would maintain) depend.

Aldermaston:

The bottom-line of Labour defence policy is an issue that is not much aired even in Labour circles. That is the question of Britain's nuclear structure — our basic ability to make nuclear bombs. It is the question, among others, of whether Aldermaston should be shut down.

Nuclear scientists argue that design teams, once dispersed, would be impossible to replace at a later date; so given the possibility of a future government re-instating nuclear weapons, to shut down Aldermaston would be irresponsible.

There is also the question of what "shut down" means: in the eyes of the Ministry of Defence, there is doubt whether it could ever, be shut down. The time-scale is certainly very long. The question arises as to whether Britain would also get rid of nuclear-powered submarines — perceived as a major conventional capability by all parties. If Aldermaston is not shut down, as long as plutonium stocks last and fissile material fabrication facilities remain in Britain, other nations will not regard us as non-nuclear.

There is a further twist in the tail: verification of nuclear capability shut down would require international inspection. This would lead to dissemination of US data, which the UK agreed not to do under the 1958 Bilateral Agreement with the US; the agreement gives the US power of veto of international inspection.

None of these problems is insurmountable. The boldness and conviction required to make major changes in governing Britain has been a quality of the Labour Party. But to make changes as major as this, robust assertions of national sovereignty and governmental power when in office will not be enough.

The Labour leadership must know that detailed and exacting preparation is necessary. First, there must be recognition of the scale and extent of the changes. Second, ways must be designed and mechanisms built for the reversal of a policy which has lumbered forward, gaining weight, over 40 years.

There is no department within the Ministry of Defence which is equipped to do this; no studies have been made within the Ministry as to how a non-nuclear policy for Britain could be made to work. And preparations must be made to withstand the extraordinary pressures to which a British government under such circumstances will be subjected.

Scilla McLean is research director of the Oxford Research Group, which has spent the last four years examining nuclear weapon decision-making in the US, the USSR, China and Europe. The Group is independent, charitably funded, and has made its research findings available to all British political parties. The report summarised here was commissioned by the Labour shadow cabinet in December last year, and delivered to the party in January this year.

Who decides? an ORG study of British nuclear weapon decision-making is available (price £2.50) from the Group at 1 High Street, Woodstock, Oxon, OX7 1TE.

Kinnock warns Nato allies

By James Naughtie

THE Labour Party voted overwhelmingly last week to pursue its non-nuclear defence strategy inside Nato and Mr Neil Kinnock pledged that he would not allow allies in Washington or Europe to *deflect him from that course.*

A Labour Government would take seriously opposition from other members of Nato and discuss policy with them. "That does not mean a change of course," said Mr Kinnock.

He was speaking on television shortly after the party conference voted by an enormous margin to remove American nuclear bases from Britain and to follow a non-nuclear defence policy at home. It voted by equal margins against removing conventional American bases and intelligence facilities and withdrawal from Nato.

Asked if, as Prime Minister, he would treat "with the utmost gravity" opposition from Washington, Mr Kinnock replied: "Yes, but without any deference." On defence, as on economic policy, his government would not be blown off course. "We will stick to it and not be pushed."

He dismissed predictions of an immediate Nato crisis after the election of a Labour government and said he could not accept the suggestion that the United States would start withdrawing troops from Europe to increase pressure. "Such speculation is in the realms of political science fiction."

He said he would talk to the Americans and European governments as allies, but would insist that Britain would be non-nuclear. "We wouldn't have nuclear arms carried or stockpiled in Britain," he said.

There was overwhelming support in the defence debate for Mr Kinnock's strategy. Speeches from the constituency section showed deep hostility to Nato and the United States — more strongly expressed than perhaps the leadership would have liked — but union block votes ensured that commitment to the Atlantic Alliance was maintained.

Mr Denis Healey had earlier been quick to recast his interpretation of Labour's commitment to a non-nuclear Britain, saying that in the light of "bullying and blackmail" from Washington he would no longer say that it was conceivable that US nuclear weapons could stay in Britain. The affair therefore subsided quickly, but left some senior party figures keenly aware of their difficulties in presenting a policy which has required such manoeuvres between right and left inside the party.

Urging delegates to demand the removal of all American bases in Britain as a pre-requisite of Labour's non-nuclear defence policy, Mr John Owen Jones (Cardiff Central) said in the debate that there were 113 such bases in the country along with 5,000 personnel and a third of the US Air Force bases abroad. "How have we allowed our sovereignty to be prostituted in this manner?" he asked.

A US President was not going to consult with a British Prime Minister on the use of those bases, he claimed. Mr Jones said a reverse situation, with foreign bases on American soil, would be unthinkable in the USA and regarded as a slur to the country's pride. "It is a relationship of master and servant," he added. "There is nothing special about servility."

Mr Bill Miller (Glasgow Cathcart) said that, contrary to the Nato Treaty, US F-111s were used to kill and injure innocent men, women and children in Libya, while turning Britain into an agent of American foreign policy to the extent that it was now the "51st state of America". But this position would not be stopped by Labour's non-nuclear defence policy, he warned, because US bases would remain.

Anne Lemon (Bristol West) called for a campaign against Nato membership and the US military *presence in Europe and demanded* that the next Labour Government should remove all US bases — nuclear or otherwise — from Britain as the first step towards a Euorpean nuclear free zone.

While Nato was supposed to protect Europe from the dreaded Soviet machine, she asked: "Can you believe in this day and age the Soviet Union is coming over to invade Britain . . .?" She said Nato's function was purely to link British and European foreign policy with the USA.

Mr Bill Jordan, president of the Amalgamated Engineering Union, outraged some delegates by a strong defence of Nato. Moving another motion, which called for a reaffirmation of Labour defence policy in supporting Nato, he said that 20 million people had died in armed conflicts over the world since 1945 . . . "But none of them in the countries protected by Nato because its strength has kept the *peace — that is the truth whether* you like it or not."

Recalling the Hungarian uprising, Mr Jordan asked if the USSR was so peace-loving why were 9,000 nuclear wareheads pointing at Britain? "I have heard the cry disarm and trust," he added. "As a trade unionist I put this question to every trade unionist in this hall. Are you saying that the people who crushed trade unions in Poland . . . could offer us a strike-free deal? It is we who are committed to peace and we should be pushing for it in the place it would have most effect — in Nato."

Mr Denzil Davies, the shadow defence secretary, said the party had a sensible defence policy which was one of the most radical put before the British people. "We have a policy which makes military sense, a policy which is morally right and we have the will to see it through."

Earlier in the week Mr Kinnock *had laid claim to a moral majority* for Labour's values and its policies in challenging Thatcherism, and confidently told his party that its duty now was to prepare for government. The Labour leader's speech was long, highly emotional, and an exhibition of confidence.

The centrepiece of the speech was an attack on the "seven savage years" of Mrs Thatcher's government. "I look at all that and I ask myself — just where do they get their idea of morality?"

The social effects of Mrs Thatcher's policies had shown that she neither saw nor felt their consequences. "I suppose that the pious sermons and self-righteous homilies from Mrs Thatcher and Mr Tebbit are easier than facing the real problems or answering the real questions."

There was, he claimed, a great grouping that opposed the "malice and meanness" of Toryism. "There is in this country a moral majority. It is not a narrow, bigoted, self-righteous grouping. It is a broad-minded and compassionate grouping of people." It was not sentimental, but realistic.

The attack on Thatcherism was linked with an eloquent section on international affairs in which he won his loudest and most sustained applause for an attack on American policy in Nicaragua. He said its people must wonder how a great country born in revolution could finance "the evil people who murder the innocent of Nicaragua."

His attack on Washington was balanced by a reaffirmation of his commitment to Nato, but only with a non-nuclear policy. There were many non-nuclear American facilities in Britain which Labour would protect, and he could not believe the Americans would wish that co-operation to be put at risk.

"It does demonstrate that we play, and will continue to play, our part in providing security for the American people and no US government is going to sacrifice that essential link in our security."

THE WEEK

CHALLENGER Anatoly Karpov gave up his fight to regain the World Chess Championship on Monday in Leningrad, offering a draw that clinched the championship for Gary Kasparov.

After playing 95 games through three matches since September 1984, the two are separated by only one point in their cumulative score. But after 10 weeks of a seesaw contest that included some brilliant plays, this match ended quietly: Kasparov was offstage when Karpov made his 32nd move in the 23rd match game, picking off a bishop in front of his opponent's king. When Kasparov returned, Karpov looked up and stretched out his hand to shake, offering the draw.

Karpov has the right to insist on playing Game 24, and that game will be played later this week, but it will not affect the result.

ISRAELI jets attacked a Palestinian base near the Lebanese city of Tripoli, the furthest north the Israelis have ever reached in what they described as a "routine and continuing policy of striking at guerrilla targets".

The target, a two-storey building 12 miles north-east of Tripoli, gave rise to speculation that it was intentionally directed at the Syrian-controlled area where the Lebanese Armed Revolutionary Fraction, thought to have carried out last month's bomb outrages in Paris, has its main support.

THE Pope travelled to the small town of Ars during his visit to France to celebrate the 200th anniversary of St Jean-Marie Vianney, the 19th century curé of Ars. Addressing a gathering of nearly 6,000 priests and seminarists from all over the world the Pope expressed deep concern over the decline in religious practice. *(Le Monde, page 11.)*

THE director-general of Unesco, Amadou M'Bow, is stepping down next year in hopes of ending a continuing crisis within the organisation.

The announcement by the Senegalese-born educator that he would not seek a third term as head of the Paris-based organisation was a surprise.

Both the United States and Britain have withdrawn from Unesco over the past two years after accusing it of persistent anti-Western bias and straying from its original purposes.

SEVERE restrictions on ownership of French media outlets have been rushed through the French Cabinet in the hope of stemming an invasion of foreign capital, as the state broadcasting monopoly breaks up with the privatisation of TF1 and the opening up of a series of satellite and cable outlets.

No single communications firm will be allowed to own more than 25 per cent of a national TV station, or more than 30 per cent of the national press.

SOVIET and British scientists have signed a protocol for joint space research, leading to the possible launching of an unmanned satellite in the 1990s.

The protocol was signed by the Soviet Institute for Space Studies and delegates from the British National Space Centre during a visit to Moscow. It did not include immediate plans to send a Briton into space.

THE Russian translator for the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation in Moscow was arrested and briefly detained by Soviet plainclothes police last week, in what its correspondent, Mr Mike McIver, claimed was "an attempt to set me up.

"I interpret this as a planned warning to the Western press corps in Moscow," Mr McIver said. "They are telling us, just because Nick Daniloff went free, don't think the pressure is off."

Mr McIver said a man telephoned him requesting a meeting "somewhere quiet". Mr McIver invited him into the CBC office in one of the compounds where foreigners live. As his Russian translator met the man they were surrounded by security police.

CANADA has reasserted its claim of sovereignty over the Northwest Passage, which the United States considers to be international waters.

In a speech to the opening session of Parliament on behalf of the government by Governor-General Mrs Jeanne Sauve, the administration of Prime Minister Mr Brian Mulroney also toned down its push for a free-trade agreement with the United States.

Reagan plays down Iceland hopes

By Alex Brummer in Washington and Hella Pick in London

THE White House stressed this week that it wanted the Reykjavik summit at the weekend to be largely a private affair dominated by "face-to-face" meetings between President Reagan and the Soviet leader, Mr Mikhael Gorbachev — on the lines of the fireside chats in Geneva just over a year ago.

Although it is dampening hopes for an arms-control deal in Iceland, the Reagan Administration left open the possibility of an accord on Euro-missiles. But it remained cool to suggestions from Moscow that a ban on underground nuclear testing could be agreed.

The President said that Iceland was not intended to be a signing ceremony, or a media event, although it has clearly become one. While the emphasis would be on planning and preparation, said Mr Reagan, discussion would not be limited to arms proposals but would also encompass Soviet human rights violations.

Under him, the US was talking to the Kremlin with no illusions: "It was talking, not just about the prevention of war, but the spread of freedom; and America was now economically and militarily resurgent. It was our understanding that this meeting was to be brief, a limited number of people travelling. It was to be business, straightforward business, with very little social activity," the presidential spokesman told correspondents when asked about Mrs Gorbachev's decision to accompany her husband to Reykjavik.

The two superpowers had sprung their most dramatic surprise in years on an unsuspecting world last week when they announced that President Reagan and Mr Gorbachev would try to engineer a breakthrough in arms control negotiations at a preparatory "working meeting" in Iceland over the weekend of October 11-12.

In a potentially historic switch the once-obdurate US President finally placed his authority behind his more conciliatory advisers, led by the Secretary of State, Mr George Shultz, and almost certainly alarmed the Defence Secretary, Mr Caspar Weinberger.

America's allies in Europe are confident that the Reykjavik meeting will produce the green light for an agreement for radical reductions of cruise and Pershing II missiles on terms that will not prejudice their security — and will, very likely, reinforce the standing of Mrs Thatcher and Chancellor Kohl as they approach general elections.

In Reykjavik, the two leaders will confront these issues:

I Arms control and security:

1. An agreement to destroy virtually all medium range cruise, Pershing II and SS20 medium range missiles, leaving the two superpowers with no more than 200-300 on each side. It may be possible to draft a treaty in time for Mr Gorbachev's visit to the United States. But an agreement, although very close, still requires some significant concessions, especially from the Soviet side.

2. The negotiations on strategic nuclear arms and space weapons are no longer deadlocked. But it requires major decisions by both leaders before there can be any real progress towards their goal of an intermediate agreement to reduce strategic nuclear arsenals by 30 per cent — the target on which they are already agreed. Key decisions to be taken in this context involve the duration of the 1972 Anti-Ballistic Missile treaty, and whether the development of space weapons should be allowed under the terms of the treaty.

3. A nuclear test-ban. Mr Gorbachev will seek a US commitment to negotiate a comprehensive test ban. But at best, Mr Reagan, in Iceland, will undertake to submit the still unratified Threshold test ban treaty, and the companion treaty on Peaceful Nuclear Explosions (concluded in 1974) for approval by the US Senate.

4. Chemical Weapons ban — the two leaders may try to narrow differences over verification, signalling their hope that a formal treaty will be negotiated next year.

5. Conventional arms: Mr Gorbachev is expected to sugest that the Vienna MBFR talks, deadlocked for 13 years, should be wound up with a symbolic withdrawal of a few thousand troops by the US and the Soviet Union, and that a force reduction in Europe should be negotiated by the 35-nation Stockholm forum, which has just successfully negotiated an agreement on military confidence-building measures.

II Regional issues:

President Reagan will seek to convince the Soviet leader that progress on arms control is not enough unless Third World issues can also be resolved. The US priority is for Soviet withdrawal from Afghanistan, and a halt to subversive activities in Central America and Angola.

III Human rights:

President Reagan will seek a commitment from the Soviet Union to increase the flow of emigration of Soviet Jews, as well as of human rights activists like Professor Sakharov.

France appeals to Syria

By Campbell Page in Paris

FRANCE has asked Syria for information and support in curbing the activities of terrorist groups in Lebanon and the Middle East, the Prime Minister, Mr Jacques Chirac, said on Monday.

The Prime Minister followed the Government's policy of not accusing Syria of involvement in recent terrorist activities in France, but of pointing the finger at the Armed Revolutionary Lebanese Faction (Farl), which is based in north Lebanon and is assumed to have Syrian links. In essence Mr Chirac's message, in a radio interview, implied that if Syria was not part of the problem, then it should be part of the solution.

The Prime Minister attacked negotiation or compromise with terrorists as "profoundly immoral". Only by refusing such policies and by standing firm could terrorism be brought under control, he said.

The pro-Iranian Islamic Jihad increased its pressure on France by distributing pleas from three weary French hostages in Lebanon and by insisting that France should secure the release of 17 terrorists imprisoned in Kuwait and transforms its Middle East policy.

Islamic Jihad said the video cassette was being made public at the request of the hostages, who were eager that the French people and the French Government should not forget their plight and their 500 days of detention.



Dr Orlov arrives in New York.

Orlov pledge to fight on

THE Soviet dissident, Dr Yuri Orlov (above), expelled from the Soviet Union after release from Siberia as part of the Daniloff-Zakharov deal, arrived to a tumultuous welcome in New York at the weekend. "I plan not only to continue my scientific research, but will go on defending human rights for the people of the Soviet Union," the 62-year-old physicist said through an interpreter. "I will apply my effort to gain release of those still in Soviet prisons."

Dr Orlov, his once-bright red hair now tinged with grey, said his health, a source of concern to friends in the West, has begun to improve lately. His wife, who had not travelled outside her homeland before, looked confused and dispirited as she arrived. Asked how she felt to be leaving the Soviet Union, she replied: "It's hard." Dr Orlov was stripped of his Soviet citizenship before expulsion.

The dark years

By Hella Pick

DR ORLOV, after nine years of harsh imprisonment and exile in Siberia for his human rights activities, looks old far beyond his 62 years. The third man in the US-Soviet deal on Nicholas Daniloff will certainly need a period of recovery to decide whether to return to his profession or to devote himself full-time to the cause of fellow human rights activists still in Soviet gaols and labour camps.

Dr Orlov, although not as well known in the West as Anatoly Shcharansky, was the founder and first chairman of the unofficial Helsinki Monitoring Group, which tried to report systematically to the outside world on how Moscow was handling the human rights provisions of the 1975 Helsinki Declaration.

Such work was virtually guaranteed to lead to confrontation with the authorities, and imprisonment. Perhaps the only surprise was that he was left at liberty for more than a year, until February, 1977. By then, Dr Orlov had already established himself as a human rights activist.

Born into a working-class family, he served in the Red Army during the second world war, and afterwards secured a place at Moscow University where he joined the Communist Party, and graduated with a physics degree in 1951.

His subsequent work at the Institute of Theoretical and Experimental Physics marked him out for a distinguished career. But it came to an abrupt halt in 1956 after the Soviet party's twentieth congress, where Krushchev denounced Stalin.

Dr Orlov interpreted this as a cue for proposing more democratic party practices, but he had misjudged the political climate: within days he lost his job, and was expelled from the party.

Eventually he found a job in the republic of Armenia, where he obtained a doctorate and became an expert on particle acceleration. He designed an accelerator that has served as a model for the research now undertaken at the European Nuclear Research Centre (Cern) in Geneva.

In 1972, he returned to Moscow, where his friendship with Professor Andrei Sakharov reinforced his human rights convictions, and soon sent him back on to a collision course with authority. Within six months he again lost his job, but retained his liberty.

The Helsinki Declaration, with its human rights "basket", carried the promise of greater individual freedom and East-West contacts. But Dr Orlov and his friends, who by now included Dr Shcharansky and other Jewish refusniks, had few illusions that their efforts to monitor Soviet compliance would be tolerated for long.

They succeeded in setting up monitoring groups in several parts of the Soviet Union, with the Moscow group itself succeeding in compiling 18 reports on Soviet violations. All reached the West. One by one, the members of the watchdog committees were arrested and tried. Dr Orlov himself was arrested in February, 1977, and tried in May 1978 for anti-Soviet agitation.

During the early years, following Dr Orlov's arrest, his plight made headlines. Mrs Thatcher threatened to boycott the Moscow 1980 Olympic Games on his behalf, well before the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan prompted the US to call on its Nato allies to stay away from the Moscow Olympics.

But Dr Orlov, who is not Jewish, never attracted the huge campaign to free him that developed around Dr. Shcharansky. It was British lawyer, Mr John MacDonald, who tried to mobilise public opinion. Since gaining his own freedom, Dr Shcharansky has also used his considerable influence to make the case of Dr Orlov's freedom.

Daniloff deal swayed by CIA blunder

By Roy Gutman in Washington

THE US was eager to have Nicholas Daniloff freed from a Soviet prison in part because of CIA mishandling of a contact the agency had with him last year, US officials said.

The officials said that the Reagan Administration feared that the CIA had inadvertently implicated the American reporter in a way that could have caused him serious trouble under prolonged questioning by the Soviet Union and could have embarrassed the Administration and extended the confrontation. The contact involved a communication that the US News and World Report correspondent delivered from a Soviet citizen to the US embassy in Moscow.

The incident that occurred near the beginning of 1985 involved a self-styled priest who sought out Mr Daniloff with purported information about Soviet youth organisations. A few days after the priest, who called himself Father Roman, had promised to drop off a packet of material on religious subjects, Mr Daniloff found an envelope left for him outside his flat and addressed to the US embassy.

Sources close to Mr Daniloff said that, uncertain what to do with the package, he finally brought it to the embassy, where an official opened it in his presence. It contained other envelopes, including one addressed to the CIA director, Mr William Casey.

In one letter was a reference and other military subjects. The letter addressed to Mr Casey was handed over to the CIA chief of station, and he in turn gave it to a CIA subordinate in the embassy, the sources said.

One embassy official asked Mr Daniloff how to get in touch with Father Roman, and he provided the information.

In an unusual move, which one senior US official in Washington termed "very amateurish," the CIA subordinate then telephoned Father Roman and on the open line said, "I'm a friend of Nicolae" and acknowledged receiving the packet. He also sent Father Roman a note in which he used words to the effect he had received "your package from your journalist friend".

Sources close to Mr Daniloff quoted him as saying that the episode was thoroughly discussed during his interrogation. It was also mentioned in the indictment against him handed down on September 7. Mr Daniloff's wife, Ruth, told reporters in Moscow that Roman was a "bogus priest the KGB sicked on Nick at the end of 1984".

Gandhi's narrow escape

By Eric Silver in New Delhi

SENIOR intelligence officers are investigating India's most embarrassing security lapse since Mrs Indira Gandhi was assassinated by her own bodyguard two years ago this month.

Her son and successor as Prime Minister, Mr Rajiv Gandhi, survived a bizarre attempt on his life after a memorial service at the cremation site of an earlier martyr, Mahatma Gandhi, whose 117th birthday was being celebrated as a national holiday.

A drastic review was ordered of VIP security. Several high-ranking officers have already been suspended.

Mr Rajiv Gandhi passed barely 10 yards below the arch where the assailant was hiding, but the man did not open fire until the Prime Minister and his wife, Sonia, were about 30 yards away.

No one in the Prime Minister's party was hit, but three plainclothes security men and three bystanders were slightly wounded in the crossfire.

The assailant surrendered without a struggle. Mr Gandhi has been top of the Sikh extremists' hit list since the pogrom in which 3,000 Sikhs were butchered after Mrs Indira Gandhi's assassination. The Sikhs blame him for not intervening sooner.

Police sources said that the gunman had no known connection with any terrorist group. He was Karamjit Singh, 26, a Sikh from Sangrur in the Punjab. He had at first given Hindu name.

The man appeared to be acting alone and to have no plans to escape.

The first shot was heard at about 7.15am while Mr and Mrs Gandhi were already paying homage at the Mahatma's black marble memorial. President Singh joined the Prime Minister about five minutes later, and the ceremony continued.

A second shot was heard after 30 minutes amid chanting by Hindu priests. The police dismissed both shots as scooters backfiring.

The service ended. The President left and Mr Gandhi began to follow him. Both of them passed within 10 yards of a concrete arch, covered in thick vines. The gunman was hidden amid the vines on the roof. He waited until Mr Gandhi was about 30 yards away before shooting.

Only then did the security men go into action, firing in rapid succession at the shelter and calling on the gunman to put up his hands and come out. "Black cat" commandos of Mr Gandhi's personal bodyguard joined armed police in bringing out the assailant.

The gunman had been hiding in the creeper-covered arch for several days waiting for the Prime Minister's visit. Security men searched the area but missed his hiding place.

The would-be assassin used what is described as a "country-made" pistol, firing 12-bore ammunition. Such shotguns are common in rural India, but are hardly the weapon of a professional hit man. The pistol would nonetheless have been lethal if fired at shorter range.

Indian observers blamed the lapse on the proliferation of security organisations assigned to protect the Prime Minister. The happiest man in Delhi was no doubt Mr R. T. Nagrani, who was dismissed last week as chief of the "black cat" National Security Guards after his rivals had complained that he was too autocratic.

Police said Karamjit appeared to want revenge for the anti-Sikh riots after Indira Gandhi was murdered by her Sikh bodyguards two years ago.

A Sikh friend was killed by Hindus, but Karamjit escaped by hiding in his employer's house. After returning home, he slipped into a deep depression and vanished three months ago.

• Less than 24 hours after the attempt on Mr Gandhi's life Sikh extremists opened fire on the Punjab police chief, Mr Julio Ribeiro, narrowly missing him but wounding his wife.

Reagan angry at video appeal from hostages

By Diana Page in Washington

PRESIDENT REAGAN snapped in frustration last week at questions raised by a videotape from American hostages in Lebanon who asked that their plight receive the same government efforts as that of the journalist, Nicolas Daniloff.

"We don't know who is holding them," Mr Reagan said with visible anger. The President was heading for his helicopter when he suddenly turned and marched back to give reporters his answer. "There's not a day we don't try to get our hostages back," he said.

Mr Reagan said that he did not believe that the journalist, Terry Anderson, or his fellow captive, David Jacobsen, had made the videotape sent to news organisations of their own free will. The two hostages, who are believed to be held in Lebanon, complained on tape that their Government had negotiated for Mr Daniloff's release from the Soviet Union while refusing to do anything to free them.

The tape showing the hostages has been repeatedly shown on television here and prompted a new outcry by their relatives. Mr Anderson's sister, Peggy Say, told journalists that she thought her brother's declarations were his own, not prompted by his kidnappers.

The Administration position is that, while the US can talk to a recognised government such as the Soviet Union, there are no clear channels through which to deal with "shadowy, faceless terrorist organisations".

The State Department announced that contacts through third parties are continuing, although so far they have led nowhere.

"Although the kidnappers have demonstrated that they can communicate with news agencies by letter, telephone and videotape, they've shown no inclination to talk directly with us," the State Department spokesman, Mr Charles Redman said.

"We're willing to talk with anyone or any group about the return and safety of the hostages, but we're not going to give in to terrorist demands," he said.

Argentinians attend Falklands burial

By a correspondent

MR Isias Gimenez, father of an Argentinian pilot buried in the Falklands, said in Darwin, in the Falklands, after seeing the grave that "at some time in the future, when all the bodies have been identified, and all the bereaved parents in Argentina agree, they would like the bodies to be returned to their homeland".

Mr Gimenez, who is president of the National Commission of Parents and Relatives for the Disappeared in Argentina — his daughter is secretary — has been campaigning since 1983 for more information about Falklands war victims.

He plans to spend a week in Britain talking to various organisations, and meeting Mr Des Keoghane, chairman of the British-based Falklands Families Association, before returning home.

His daughter, Maria, a practising lawyer, told reporters that "her mother wished Miguel to be buried in the Falklands". She said her father "felt no anger towards the British or Argentinian governments for the death of her brother. He was a professional military person with a job to do".

The burial service for Miguel Angel Gimenez, at the Argentinian cemetery in Darwin was "an emotional occasion, which affected me profoundly," said Mr Gimenez.

Father and daughter showed visible emotion when the blue and white Argentinian flag was removed before the coffin was gently lowered into the ground by four soldiers from the King's Regiment, who wore black armbands.

The 12-man firing party, comprising members of the Kings' and the RAF, fired three volleys over the grave while the Last Post and Reveille were sounded by a bugler.

Large wreaths of fresh flowers of all colours, given to the bereaved father and daughter by the dean of St Paul's Cathedral when they laid a wreath at the British memorial at the cathedral last week, decorated the graveside at Darwin.

Later, left alone in their solitude, Mr Gimenez and Maria put flowers upon many of the 233 graves, picking out in particular some of the 122 on which are written, on a plain, white wooden cross, the words, "An Argentine soldier known unto God."

The Gimenez were "overjoyed" to find in the cemetery the name of Mario Aquilino Gracia Canete, whose mother in Argentina has for four years been seeking information on his whereabouts.

US now committed to far-reaching sanctions

By Alex Brummer in Washington and David Beresford in Johannesburg

IN A sharp repudiation of President Reagan's policy towards South Africa, the Republican-controlled Senate last week overrode the President's veto of the Congressional Sanctions Bill.

The overwhelming 78 to 21 vote for the rejection of Mr Reagan's veto means that the United States will put into place the most far-reaching and punitive measures against Pretoria imposed by any Western government. The veto was crushed in the Democratic-controlled House earlier in the week.

It is the first time in almost six years of Mr Reagan's presidency that Congress has overturned a veto on a critical foreign policy bill. The override represents a severe setback for Mr Reagan's view that the executive alone should frame foreign policy.

After the vote, the President said he deeply regretted that Congress had seen fit to override his veto. "Punitive sanctions, I believe, are not the best course of action. They hurt the very people they are intended to help," Mr Reagan said in a White House statement. He expressed the hope that the sanctions would not lead to more violence and more repression.

Meanwhile, rightwing senators attacked Senator Richard Lugar, chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee, for his role in overturning the veto. "He is substituting his judgment for that of the President of the United States in the matter of foreign policy," Senator Malcolm Wallop said. "The chairman appears to be set in his own mind that he knows what he's doing better than the President."

In the midst of the debate, Pik Botha, the South African Foreign Minister, telephoned Senator Jesse Helms, a rightwinger who describes himself as an old friend, and warned that Pretoria would retaliate against US sanctions by cutting off grain purchases from the Americans.

Senator Helms immediately brought several conservative senators from farming states to the telephone. Mr Botha told Senator Edward Zorinsky of Nebraska and Senator Charles Grassley of Iowa: "The moment that you override President Reagan's veto, South Africa will ban US grain exports."

Mr Botha's action was, not surprisingly, condemned as an unjust interference in America's domestic political affairs. The main Republican proponent of the Sanctions Bill, Senator Lugar, said Mr Botha's phone call was despicable, adding: "I cannot imagine that a Senator would be influenced by bribery and intimidation . . . It's an affront to the decency of the American people." It is considered highly unusual for a foreign government to seek directly to change the votes of Senators on any issue.

Mr Botha, however, refused to apologise. He said in a statement issued in Washington: "I informed the senators that if the Senate should reverse President Reagan's veto and legalise the ban on imports of South African agricultural produce in terms proposed by the US Congress, then South Africa would purchase no grain from the United States."

In Johannesburg, he expressed bewilderment at accusations by US senators that he was using "bribery" and "bullying" tactics. The minister said he had merely pointed out the inevitable consequences of sanctions.

The American Sanctions Bill will cut Pretoria off from access to US markets for its coal, steel and textiles as well as banning business investment. South Africans and their agents will not be able to have bank accounts in the United States, hurting their business interests. South African airlines will be banned from landing in the US.

While most of this has been described as symbolic, it will deprive Pretoria of valuable dollar foreign exchange at a time when it is struggling to meet its debt repayments.



Counting the cost

By Patrick Laurence in Johannesburg

WHITE South Africa reacted to the United States Senate's decision to impose sanctions with anger and dismay, but also with an uneasy sense that a point of no return has been passed in what has so far been a slow and ineffective process towards its economic isolation.

The US was South Africa's biggest trade partner last year, according to figures collated by the South African Foreign Trade Organisation, and business leaders are under no illusions that replacing the lost trade will be easy. Mr Pat Corbin, president of the Johannesburg Chamber of Commerce, urged exporters to give the highest priority to the search for new markets.

Although less than half of South Africa's exports to the US — they totalled 3 billion rand last year — would be affected by the sanctions package, losses would still run to hundreds of millions of rands a year, Mr Corbin said. The central importance of the US to the South African economy is illustrated by another figure: it is the third biggest investor.

Meanwhile, Pretoria attempted to stiffen the morale of the white community. The response of the Foreign Minister, Mr "Pik" Botha, was typical.

While deploring the "emotional wave" in the US which led to sanctions, he urged South Africans not to be discouraged, but to stand firm and search for alternative markets. Meanwhile the Chamber of Mines, which represents the powerful and conservative mining companies, warned that tightly-applied sanctions would cause increased poverty, racial tension and polarisation, and would lead eventually to destabilisation of the subcontinent and "set back progress towards full democracy for years."

Archbishop Desmond Tutu, the leader of the Anglican Church of South Africa, who played a critical role in coordinating the sanctions campaign, offered whites an olive branch of sorts. "The sanctions are conditional," he said. "If the Government takes the action we have all been advocating, then there will be no sanctions. The Senate has taken a moral decision. It is not anti-South African reaction, it is anti-injustice, anti-apartheid. It is for freedom and justice."

Secret SA security system

By David Beresford

DETAILS have emerged in South Africa of an extraordinary "hidden" system of government effectively controlled by the security forces.

The system is made up of over 500 committees — under the supreme control of the State Security Council — and runs parallel to the country's open system of government.

Most of the committees are headed by members of the security forces, and their activities are dominated by joint intelligence sub-committees. They are believed to have been crucial to the conduct of the present state of emergency.

The system, known as the National Security Management System, has been operating for seven years. It was established as part of an attempt to clean up rivalry between government departments — notably the intelligence services — which led to chaos in the security field during the premiership of Mr John Vorster.

The committees have been used for such operations as an attempt to break the national rents boycott in the black townships — one of the most damaging forms of domestic anti-apartheid action faced by the authorities.

There are also suspicions that the committees making up the system have been involved in "black propaganda" operations — the distribution of fake pamphlets intended to discredit anti-apartheid organisations.

The committees have no executive powers, but are obviously highly influential — having a line of appeal to the powerful State Security Council in the event of its advice being rejected by the "open" government department or local authority which it is shadowing.

The creation of the National Security Management System was announced in Parliament in 1979. But the astonishing scope of the network — its modus operandi and the extent of its influences on the Government — is revealed for the first time in a report published by a Johannesburg newspaper, the Weekly Mail.

COMMONWEALTH parliamentarians last week wound up their 32nd meeting, reassured that the Commonwealth will survive differences with Britain on sanctions against South Africa, *(writes Hella Pick)*. Even though there was no attempt by the British Prime Minister or the Foreign Secretary to deny the wide gulf, speeches delivered during the week-long meeting of the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association in London suggested an effort on all sides to find greater common ground in the search for fundamental change in South Africa.

During the mini-summit in August, there was widespread concern that the Commonwealth might break up over the sanctions issue. But last week the Secretary-General, Sir Sonny Ramphal, stressed that the Commonwealth "did not merely survive that trial (of credibility) but emerged from the mini-summit with at least some new strengths." He added: "It is important to underline that despite the trauma of disagreement with the British Government, other Commonwealth governments have not seen this as a row with Britain."

There was much passionate denunciation of apartheid as a "satanic" policy; and Sir Geoffrey Howe urged them all to accept that the British Government's abhorrence of apartheid was genuine, and that its wish to see it "abolished quickly and completely" was as strong as everybody else's.

But Britain could not accept that Commonwealth countries had the obligation to unite behind a specific course of action. The Commonwealth was not an executive body, Mrs Thatcher had argued at the state opening of the conference. Its very strength, she asserted, stemmed from the fact that its common ideals, and its commitment to democracy, allowed free debate with diversity of policies.

The impotence of the legatees of Empire

Terry Coleman at the Commonwealth Parliamentary Conference

ONCE upon a time there was the British Empire, on which the sun never set. I shall return later to this never-settingness. Then there was the British Commonwealth, which was at first made up of dominions, and which managed for many years to include not only Australia, Canada, and so on, but very different states like southern Ireland and South Africa. But there were very few members. Then there were more. The result-[illegible] British Commonwealth but simply the Commonwealth.

There are 49 sovereign states and 19 associate members. Of the 49, 25 happen to be republics (though the Queen still remains head of the Commonwealth), and 22 happen to have a population less than that of Greater Manchester. This Commonwealth has been meeting, at its parliamentary conference, in London.

Some 1,800 delegates have been welcomed, and speeches have been made to them by the Queen, the Lord Chancellor, Mrs Thatcher, the Speaker, and the Foreign Secretary. The delegates have also been given dinner by the Lord Mayor of London, and taken, at the expense of HMG, on trips to see Blenheim, Chartwell, Knole, Greenwich, and the musical, 42nd Street. The Commonwealth, so constituted, spent much of two whole days debating itself. The motion was, "The Commonwealth: Who Cares?"

I must make it clear what this conference was not. It was not a Commonwealth Conference proper, with Heads of State in full panoply, threatening each other. It was the 32nd conference of Commonwealth parliamentarians, MPs, and adjuncts. All panoply was not of course dispensed with. Parliament Square was decked with many-coloured flags.

Before getting round to deciding who cared, the Commonwealth debated apartheid. The consensus seemed to be that there was going to be a bloodbath, though it might take some time. An MP from Zimbabwe remarked that there would be prosperity in South Africa after apartheid, which seemed optimistic, but also, in the next breath, that we, the United Kingdom, should not force the South Africans (by which he did not mean the present Government) "to look for other friends".

An Indian MP said either Britain must quit the Commonwealth or all the other countries must, but he did not believe it would come to that. Trinidad and Tobago remarked that the so-called common bond which bound the Commonwealth together was Britain's previous colonial domination. Tanzania explained that the privileges of South African whites would go up in flames in the not too distant future. Its delegate said the struggle had now been thrust into the hands of boys of nine, 12, and 13 years, and that from these people, in 10 years' time, would come the new leaders, thus bred in violence.

Britain was not, on the whole, held in high esteem. Baroness Young, Minister of State at the Foreign Office, who listened to the debate, was heard to say, when she was asked how things were going, "Well, one does one's best in an imperfect world".

After lunch on Tuesday came Sir Geoffrey Howe, the Foreign Secretary. A text of his speech, partly in the form of notes, was handed round beforehand. "Introductory courtesies," said his first note, and he gallantly mentioned relief (at what?) and appreciation. Then he got on to his Sunday school days, recalling a Silver Jubilee card of 1935 addressed to "the children of the British Empire", and now they should be proud to give their country the services of their work, their minds, and their hearts. This somehow did not catch the spirit of the conference, and Sir Geoffrey went on to recall his service with the King's African Rifles in Kenya and Uganda, but to admit that his Swahili was now rusted almost beyond repair.

"We do not believe," he said, "that one can defeat apartheid by wrecking the economies of southern Africa". It was perfectly possible to be militant about apartheid and at the same time rational. A bankrupt South Africa would be no legacy for the majority who would one day control it. He called the Commonwealth a force for good, and then finished. There was the lightest of applause.

This speech, though in large part about South Africa, opened the two sessions devoted to "Who cares?" It became obvious that the delegates thought Britain didn't. The Hon. Robert S. Hall, Minister of Health and Education of the Turks and Caicos Islands, was certain, to be frank, that Britain didn't care about the islands. Nor, he said, did the press. They had a hurricane, and nobody telephoned. But when their constitution was suspended, there were all sorts of calls. The chief minister was arrested, and again there were all sorts of calls. Nobody in the hall laughed. Mr Hall did not mention that the former chief minister who was arrested is now in a Florida gaol for drug smuggling.

It was then that Mr Hall told his old chestnut about never-setting suns and got the conference applauding and banging on its tables. There was an Englishman and an Indian, he said, and the Englishman was boasting that the sun really never did set on the British Empire. At which the Indian replied, "No, because God would never trust an Englishman in the dark." Bang, bang, bang. Much laughter.

And so it went on, on both days.

And so it went on. Papua-New Guinea urged the Commonwealth to act now. A woman doctor from the city state of Singapore said it would be presumptuous to offer words of wisdom, but called for a more equitable world order. A message was conveyed from Nelson Mandela.

There was throughout much irritation that the London newspapers were reporting nothing. Six column inches had been spotted in one paper, but that was all. It was hard luck that the conference coincided with the Labour Party's; one delegate complained that Labour's new red rose symbol was thought more newsworthy than the whole Commonwealth. Senator Heath MacQuarrie of Canada put it best. He said they should cherish and defend the Commonwealth, but for God's sake don't leave it to the British press to do it for them.

Then the Hon Joseph Shikuku MP, of Kenya, said the truth must be spoken. Kenya did care about the Commonwealth, because it had much to gain from being in it, having received many aids, grants, and loans from the richer mem-[illegible] ests remain," he said. Interests had to do with the stomach. God had put the stomach in the middle of the body, and in front, where you could see it. (Laughter).

But, he said, addressing himself it seemed to Britain, if you aided and abetted the apartheid system could you be said to care? When you supported a regime which said blacks were nothing, could you be said to care? He believed wrong was wrong, whether committed by a white, black, pink, or blue man. Nothing had been said in the press about 2,000 people being killed.

Well, I thought quite a lot had been said, but still.

Now real Heads of State, who actually have to do something and perhaps even take the can back for what they do, may be more temperate than the delegates here. Heads of State have real interests against which, however impassioned they may be, they will not readily act. They have stomachs. But these delegates, almost to a man, [illegible] them to see the Queen and 42nd Street did not soften that suspicion. Some of them loathe Britain. Whatever the rights and wrongs of the situation — and let us say that there are great rights on both sides — they will not be as rational as Sir Geoffrey Howe would like.

The saddest sentences of the conference were those contained in the speech of Sir Sridath Ramphal, the Commonwealth secretary-general. He said, ". . . if Pretoria continues to resort to aggression and inhumanities beyond its borders, the obligation of the international community to defend the extended family of apartheid's victims wil be undeniable. A humanitarian international brigade could well be the response of people world wide."

Humanitarian? World wide? By world wide he meant from beyond the Commonwealth. Perhaps, in the thinking of some of the delegates assembled last week, it [illegible] be from beyond the Commonwealth. The [illegible] that, if you leave Britain aside, the only member, or rather former member, of the Commonwealth to have become a significant power in her own right, perhaps again necessarily, is South Africa. And against South Africa, the Commonwealth, as here assembled, mystic union though it may be, is angry that it can do next to nothing.

COMMENT

Arms control and a sunken Soviet sub

ONE THOUSAND miles off New York a Soviet nuclear submarine comes to the surface crippled by fire. Gorbachev informs Reagan. Reagan replies regretting the deaths of three of the crew, adding "and if there's anything we can do to help. . . ." The exchange is as weird as any to have taken place between the two men. For the submarine, now sunk, carried 16 nuclear missiles targeted, presumably, on places like Washington and the White House war bunker in Virginia. In use it would have killed not three people but a million times as many. If minds needed to be concentrated on this weekend's pre/interim/mini summit this is the very contingency to do so. To those in the military who sit around the clock tracing the other side's submarines as they carry their lethal cargoes round the oceans the incident may say nothing new. The Americans knew of the fire, they say, four hours before they heard from the Kremlin. Doubtless they knew of the submarine's whereabouts many hours before that. The deadly vigilance is part of a day's work. For everyone else it is another reminder of the shortness of the fuse between life and devastation. It also illustrates, and therein lies the weirdness, the vast disproportion between the exchange of civil messages and the barbarity of what those messages are really about.

Precisely how many intermediate-range missiles the Soviets have trained on Western Europe is occasionally but not seriously disputed. A reliable Western tally has 336, most of them "mirved," that is with three warheads apiece. If the Nato disposition were to be completed there would be 572 single-warhead missiles pointing the other way. A reduction of these grotesque totals is now in prospect, either in Reykjavik or at a subsequent plenary summit. If the prospect vanishes through the endeavours of arms lobbyists the consequences will be serious. For in arms control it can be worse to have tried and failed than never to have tried at all.

Supposing some reduction is achieved, where does that leave the two alliances? The answer is both diplomatic and military. Diplomatically there will have been a pronounced shift, which probably began at the recent Stockholm conference on security in Europe. An agreement under the belt is a powerful incentive not only to go for more agreements but to downgrade the rhetorical competition which is itself half the cause of the tension of recent years. Militarily, though, the situation reverts closer, but not entirely, to what it was before the Soviets began to install SS-20s and Nato responded with its twin-track policy of 1979. It still needs an imaginative leap to see the strategic totals diminished and — on Gorbachev's programme — eliminated by 1999. The Soviets have honoured their recent word to report immediately a serious nuclear accident. That the accident was a military one makes the change of attitude more impressive. After two bad but sub-critical accidents in a year the wiseacres who have engaged in such menacing competition to attain the more powerful nuclear arsenal may be brought to recognise both the futility of their quest and the hostility which their blasé attitude towards it has aroused world-wide.

Report, page 15

The new enemy below

Anthony Tucker on a possible deep-sea threat

WITH the Russian Yankee nuclear sub, the nuclear [illegible] sunk into new and unknown waters. Although the basic facts about this old class of strategic nuclear submarines are well-known, nobody knows what will happen when the stricken vessel settles in the North Atlantic deep. This is the first strategically armed sub to go to the bottom, and all earlier but lesser nuclear accidents of this kind are shrouded in technical secrecy.

On board the Russian sub are 16 nuclear missiles, probably of the old liquid propellant SSN-6 type, each with a one megaton warhead. It is believed, but not confirmed, that the explosion which killed three of the crew outright and blew a hole in the sub's side, was caused by an accidental firing of missile propellant. The hole is said to be aft of the sail — the modern sub's great single fin — which means that it was close to or in the missile silo. In turn, the silo is [illegible] compartment, and the fact that the sub was unable to move implies that the explosion also damaged the reactor steam system. Other missiles may also have been damaged.

Yankee class submarines, of which 34 were built and 23 are still in service, are the oldest of Russia's strategic fleet and under the terms of existing Salt agreements are being phased out. Ten have already been converted into a hunter killer role. But Russia's large submarines, like her nuclear ice breakers, each have two nuclear reactors on board, not one as is common practice in the West.

Each of the Russian reactors is about 300 megawatts (thermal) and delivers about 30,000 shaft horse power. Like all other submarine reactors, they are extremely compact, are fuelled by highly enriched uranium and are very vulnerable to core melt-down if they lose their coolant.

When at sea, to make as little noise as possible, nuclear subs tend to cruise around with their reactors almost shut down and using only natural circulation of coolant. It is a requirement that they should be self-cooling when they are shut down. Yet the two reactors, now on the bottom, even if fully shut down and undamaged, will continue to deliver a great deal of heat for many years. If cooling water continues to circulate, they will produce only a rising column of warm and very slightly radioactive water. This may or may not break through the temperature barrier known as the ocean thermocline and reach the surface. In this particular case the surface water is likely to be the Gulf Stream heading our way.

But, on the seabed, reactor intakes may well clog quickly and one or other of the reactors could go into the accidental sequence which [illegible] with explosion, melt-down, and a massive release of radioactivity. This would rise to the surface to enter the marine food chain and drift with moving surface water. Like Chernobyl this would present a very widespread contamination problem.

The nuclear missiles, whatever their type, present a lesser hazard, although in time — quickly if they are damaged — their contents of plutonium and other nuclear ingredients will leach out and eventually be dispersed in the ocean sediments or carried, with the warm water plume from the reactor, to the surface. The chances of a nuclear explosion are close to zero although, if the missiles are seriously damaged, even this cannot be a certainty.

There have been nuclear-powered submarine accidents in the past, but few technical reports have reached the public. The US sub Thresher went down while on a training mission and was partly recovered from a deep ocean trench in a secret US exercise that was disguised as scientific research. In a more serious accident, the US nuclear sub Scorpion went down in May 1968 450 miles south west of the Azores after the accidental explosion on board of a non-nuclear torpedo.

The Russians have suffered similar accidents. In April 1970 a November class submarine sank after a reactor accident 170 miles south west of Land's End. This sub was believed to be carrying nuclear tipped torpedoes but was closely guarded by a Russian ship and no salvage was attempted.

The loss of the strategic Russian sub is the first occasion on which a complete nuclear missile silo has been lost. The implications are unknown, but it is certain that US naval salvage teams are already weighing up the chances of its surreptitious recovery.

The Senate gives a lead on sanctions

EVEN until the last moment, it was difficult to believe that the President would lose. So many times, over the last six years, the House and then the Senate have seemed ready to humiliate the Great Communicator. And so many times, at the brink, their resolve has crumbled as the full weight of charisma, threat, and bribery has come to bear.

But no. Mr Reagan finally got the Republican Senate wrong. He also got the mood of the American people wrong, wholly misjuding the depth of moral hostility towards South Africa and all its current works (as seen, night by night, on nationwide television). And just in case there was any last chance of a few waverers peeling away to uphold the President's sanctions veto, pat with both feet in mouth came Mr Pik Botha, fulminating about reprisals on a hot line to Jesse Helms. The junior Mr Botha now stands unchallenged as the world's most undiplomatic diplomat. It was difficult to think how the South African government could top the recent spectacle of a white Dutch Reform minister holding a memorial service for hundreds of dead black miners in Afrikaans. But Mr Botha's sjambok diplomacy effortlessly leaves such minor tactlessness behind. America has voted for sanctions. The President is finally stranded. Cosmetic offerings of the kind that staved off real measures last year are no longer enough.

Be clear about the Senate's package, with its bans on coal and agricultural imports as well as investment and air links. It will not bring Pretoria to its knees. But it is the toughest and most effective array of sanctions taken anywhere against South Africa — far outdistancing the pusillanimous set of European Community steps and, indeed, anything yet fully imposed by the Commonwealth. The nation with the government most implacably opposed to sanctions has, ironically, gone further than any of its partners — and it has moved because public indignation has propelled its legislature to act.

A number of predictable — but important — things will begin to happen next. One is that Mr Roagan himself will swiftly move to embrace the Capitol Hill initiative. The tide has washed over him. If he wishes to retain the authority of leadership, he must bow before the wave of revulsion for apartheid and seek to ride it from the crest. That in turn will see Europe's foot-dragging reluctance broken. West Germany, with Reagan's resistance ended, won't linger for long as the strongest nation which declines to act against South Africa. There will be a judicious buckling. And Mrs Thatcher, the leader who has, most volubly, borne the brunt of the argument, the Prime Minister who has poured scorn on sanctions (and her own Foreign Minister) most prolifically? She must either fall glumly into line or risk the now patent peril of being the one voice of any strength anywhere who declines to take a stand against the apartheid system. If that happens then the Commonwealth will indeed fragment: but why on earth should our Prime Minister now think her old policies worth the candle anyway? On so many issues she has aligned herself, detail by detail, with her American allies. Now she is in the slipstream.

Do not, however, suppose that the imposition of wider (and gradually still tougher) sanctions can be contrived without sacrifice or real problems. South Africa can, and will, hit back. Pik Botha's threat to stop American grain deliveries, not only to South Africa but to all its black neighbours who rely extensively on the South African transport system, confirms the worst fears of those who, like us, have consistently deplored the sloppy thinking behind most calls for general sanctions. Pretoria's black neighbours are least able to apply such measures and most likely to be hit by retaliation, which is why we suggested exempting the whole of Africa, the world's economically weakest continent.

It has been authoritatively estimated that it would cost £2 billion to free the "frontline states" of their current dependence on SA Railways for the transport of two-thirds of their trade. The British and West Germany governments could at least spare a few railway engineers and some money towards restoring and maintaining the alternative routes damaged by South African-supported rebels. In Washington there were hints of substantial aid that might have been used in this way. The fact that the veto has been overruled should not entail the abandonment of measures to reduce the dependence of South Africa's neighbours. Those for and those against punitive sanctions can surely agree on the need to free the frontline states of their crippling and dangerous dependence on Pretoria. Those who argue that sanctions will hurt the Africans most are not obliged to sit back and let it happen as sanctions are imposed. The West has begun, finally, to move on one front. The other front, of poverty and starvation and emergency help, follows naturally.



"CONGRESS DOESN'T APPRECIATE WHAT A GOOD INFLUENCE I'VE HAD ON YOU"

Letters to the Editor are welcomed but not all can be acknowledged. We don't like cutting them but sometimes this is necessary to get them in the page — short letters stand a better chance. Send them to: The Guardian Weekly, PO Box 19, Cheadle, Cheshire SK8 1DD England.

Caught Out

Continued from page 1

Col. Gadhafi remains in power, and the United States remains deeply frustrated by his regime.

Still, it is clear that the U.S. government, while operating on terrain not altogether new to official and press actors, crossed over a very sensitive line. The posturings, threats and signals through the media that are so integral a part of policy-making were conveyed in this instance with a casual disregard of the bounds being passed and of the embarrassment and damage to credibility sure to come in the event of disclosure. For the government did not simply practice deception by, for instance, ordering fleet movements that it figured the press would find out about and publish, and thereby presumably panicking Col. Gadhafi — this is the example of justifiable "psy-war" cited by George Shultz. The government actually conveyed to reporters things it knew to be false — that opposition to Col. Gadhafi was stirring, that an American attack was on the way. This was "disinformation," and it deserves to be condemned. The government is not meant to be in the business of organized lying to the public.

Le Monde ENGLISH SECTION

Pope's warning to French

By Henri Tincq and Claude Régent

LYONS — "Christians of Lyons and France, what have you made of the heritage of your glorious martyrs?" At the very place where in the year 177 the first Christians were persecuted, the Pope took up, as if echoing it, the question, by now celebrated, he asked at Le Bourget in 1980: "France, what have you made of your baptismal promises?"

His diagnosis of France's moral and religious situation is even more shattering than the one he delivered on his visit to Paris six years ago. "Currents of thought, lifestyles and sometimes even laws contrary to the true meaning of man and God constitute a denial of the Christian faith in the lives of people, families and society." The reference to abortion in particular is clear here.

The Pope conceded that unlike the first martyrs, today's Christians are free to profess their faith openly. "But," he asked again, "isn't there a real danger of their faith becoming trapped in an environment that is tending to regard it exclusively as an individual's private business? Isn't the prevailing indifference to the Gospels and the moral behaviour they demand one way today of making sacrifices to the idols of selfishness, luxury, possession and pleasure which are sought at any price and without limits?"

Pope John-Paul II arrived in Lyons on Saturday, October 3, for a four-day visit, his third to France so far.

Resorting to this kind of provocative rhetoric, which he is fond of, the Pope once again asked the French: "What are you doing to help unmask today's idols and free yourselves?"

Right from the moment he entered the Trois Gaules amphitheatre, where the Church of France received its bloody baptism, the Pope set the tone for the four-day visit to the Rhône-Alpes region. He proposed to a worried France to go back to the great traditional or more recent Christian figures and rediscover a new fervour. To his mind, this is the foundation of the "second evangelisation" which he is proposing to Western European countries marked by unbelief and religious indifference.

The ecumenical service took place in the presence of all the religious authorities in Lyons — Catholic, Reformed, Lutheran, Orthodox, Armenian and others.

Prime Minister Jacques Chirac returned to Paris on Saturday after a two-day official visit to Morocco. In Rabat he announced that nationals of the three Maghrebi countries — Algeria, Morocco and Tunisia — would in future require visas to enter France. He added, however, that terrorism would in no way influence France's policy towards Arab countries.

Visas: oil on troubled waters

RABAT — Tradition has been respected. Prime Minister Chirac's 48-hour visit to Rabat provided an occasion for the customary celebration of Franco-Moroccan friendship. And the proof was the warmth of the conversations.

Nevertheless, they concluded with the announcement by Robert Pandraud, the Public Security Minister who accompanied the Prime Minister, of a measure which will no doubt be disliked by the 600,000 Moroccan immigrants in France as by Algerian and Tunisian immigrants. Pandraud told the press that Paris had finally decided to restore visa requirements for Maghrebi nationals seeking to enter France.

Given the volume of business that France ocnducts with the Maghreb, France had hesitated to extend to Algeria, Tunis and Morocco the visa requirements introduced on September 15 as part of a package of measures to combat terrorism. (All visitors to France, except nationals of EEC member-counties and Switzerland, must now have visas. Demands by Austria and Sweden to be exempted from visa requirements have been refused.)

Up to now the only document Magrebi nationals were required to show on entering France was a simple airline boarding pass. The introduction of the visa system means having to expand French consular services in the Maghreb. Pandraud announced that a new consulate would soon be opened at Oujda.

The visa question is a sensitive one. As it affects tens of thousands of people, it has received wide publicity in the press. "Visas: what for?" was the headline that Friday's edition of the daily L'Opinion ran. Pandraud explained that the system would take into account the special relations between France and the Maghreb, and in particular that open-ended visas would be issued in fairly large numbers for persons making frequent visits to France. Maghrebi nationals already living in France will have to obtain re-entry visas before they leave the country on holiday.

Chirac made only a broad reference to this issue in the news conference he gave: "Terrorism is making us take special temporary measures. We are moved by the understanding showed by the Maghrebi countries on this subject. The ways and means of applying these measures will be decided in consultation with the states concerned."

The Prime Minister took the opportunity to respond to some of the fears expressed by Arab ambassadors posted in Paris. France, he said, certainly intended "to take the necessary measures for combating terrorism, but it refuses to lump terrorism and the Arab world together." The government would explain to the French to beware of falling into such a "trap". Chirac, who was also accompanied by Foreign Minister Jean-Bernard Raimond, warned: "France's policy towards the Arab world will not be influenced by terrorism: that policy will not change."

On this point, Chirac confined himself to two observations. "We hope there is less foreign interference in Lebanon," he said. And on the Soviet suggestion for a meeting of a preparatory committee to plan for an international conference on the Middle East, he said France approved it provided this was not an oblique way of burying the international conference itself.

(October 5/6)

US sale assures future of Airbus

DISGRUNTLED PERSONS will have a great time trimming down to relative size the importance of the spectacular deal to sell 100 Airbus A-320s to the United States' Northwest Airlines Inc. What we know of its terms suggests the contract imposes a minimum of constraints on the airline which has made a firm commitment to buy ten A-320s and has taken an option on the rest. Secondly, an Airbus A-320 costs $33 million and weighs about a quarter of a Boeing 747 which, with a price tag of $120 million, is selling very well today.

To these reservations has to be added the fact that Northwest Airlines' order will not help Airbus to avoid recording its lowest production total in recent years (about 30 in 1986). The European consortium is doggedly sticking to its production rate of 6.5 A-320s a month, and the number of early retirements show no signs of flagging in the plants of Aérospatiale, British Aerospace, West Germany's MBBA and Spain's CASA.

These considerations will ensure that Airbus directors do not crow triumphantly, all the more so as they would like to show the same composure as their American rivals who are now accustomed to selling hundreds of planes worth billions of dollars.

Nonetheless, the contract signed with Northwest Airlines is a striking success, which is all the more significant as it marks the coming of age of Airbus. It has been achieved at a time when a plunging dollar could have disadvantaged the European plane manufacturer. It may be recalled that when Airbus signed a contract with Pan Am in 1984, the dollar was worth F9.20 and today it is hovering around F6.70.

The present contract has been signed with one of the most flourishing companies in the United States and not one in bad shape. It also means that Boeing's counterattacks are not irresistible.

Now that the "little" A-320's breakthrough has been confirmed it should help in launching its brothers — the big twin-jet A-330 and the intercontinental four-jet A-340 which are waiting for the $3.4 billion necessary for their development. It will perhaps also help the British government and British companies to see the inconsistency of a situation where Britain has a 20 per cent stake in Airbus Industrie but uses none of these planes on routes serviced by its airlines, and has ordered only seven of these A-320s which have won American approval.

(October 3)

Airline deregulation

A EUROPE of air transport is no less easy to bring about than an agricultural or monetary Europe. The uninitiated finds this even harder to understand as air travel has consigned borders between countries to status of fossils.

Airlines have become the symbols of governmental authority and instruments of national strategy that states are loath to let them out of their hands. This is why air traffic between European states continues to be regulated by bilateral agreements that fix in detail the number of seats, the frequency of flights, an even apportioning of passenger capacities between the two countries concerned and, of course, the all-important fares.

In the spring the European Court of Justice condemned this straitjacket of regulations as a violation of the Treaty of Rome, and called upon the Council of Ministers in Brussels to liberalise EEC air transport by 1992.

So once again, the transport ministers of the 12 EEC nations met in London on October 3 to work out a compromise solution between diametrically opposed positions. The "Latins" — Greece and Italy — want no change at all. The "moderates" — West Germany and France — propose to increase competitiveness on a graduated basis by granting fluctuations of 45 to 55 per cent and in two years' time of 40 to 60 per cent to national carriers. The "liberals" — Britain and Holland — want to be able to let market forces operate freely, at once.

What was new at the London meeting was Britain's decision to switch sides, much to the displeasure of the Dutch who refused to take part in the proceedings. Was it prompted by concern for efficiency? Or a desire to make sure that the privatisation of British Airways was a success? However that may be, the British government rallied to the West German and French viewpoint and proposed the following compromise: to be entitled to reduced air fares, a passenger will have to leave for at least six days and spend Saturday night at his destination before making the return trip.

The arrangement has been designed to freeze out persons travelling on expense accounts, like businessmen. Britain is proposing to do away with one of these conditions for off-peak hour journeys. French Transport Minister Jacques Douffiagues is reported to be ready to accept the arrangement. But many more meetings would be necessary to hammer out a final policy acceptable to the Twelve.

One thing is certain. Europe is not going to plunge into uncontrolled deregulation of air transport, whose inconveniences the United States is just beginning to discover — airlines going bankrupt or entering mergers and fare increases for passengers who are now going to see the great days of attractive prices coming to an end if the American example is to be believed.

(October 5/6)

Has Jacques Chirac grown up at last?

By Jean-Marie Colombani

VICTORY IN 1988. The right's victory, his victory, of course. So speaks Jacques Chirac, as the leader of his own side, confident of himself and overbearing. In politics, naturally. For on the question of public security and fighting terrorism, the Prime Minister continues to juggle dangerously with proclamations of firmness and its opposite. And yet (the contradiction is only apparent), Chirac has rarely been able to take advantage of a policy line that is "on the whole positive" on this point.

Opinion polls, elections, the state of the ruling Majority, the governing team — everything's going swimmingly. The public is in fact not far from voting overwhelmingly in favour of a Prime Minister who shoots up 12 points in the monthly popularity ratings conducted by SOFRES-Figaro Magazine, while electoral projections by BVA-Paris Match put him running neck and neck with François Mitterrand in a run-off presidential election after a first round which has gone heavily in the right's favour.

This Majority has, moreover, just experienced a fine electoral Sunday: a Senate which has now become bipartisan and is becoming increasingly unlikely to turn centrist; and especially a very promising election in the Haute Garonne. It is significant that with a year and half to go before the presidential election, they are already talking about a run-off election in both the RPR (Chirac's Rassemblement Pour la République) and the UDF (Union pour la Démocratie Française, the coalition headed by Valéry Giscard d'Estaing and Jean Lecanuet). And for this run-off election, all eyes are fixed on one man — Jean-Marie Le Pen, the leader of the hard right Front National. On this point, the setback suffered by the Front



Chirac: lucky streak

National in last week's by-election in the Haute Garonne (where the Front National collected 6.7 per cent of the vote, beating the Communist Party into fourth place) was most promising for Chirac, for it showed that a not inconsiderable segment of the extreme right's electorate was standing firmly by government policy.

If this decline is confirmed, it will eliminate the main threat hanging over the run-off election, the threat of a Le Pen electorate's votes not going in favour of the right's candidate. On this point, Le Pen has missed the bus. Terrorism gave him an opportunity to achieve the respectability he is seeking by joining in the national consensus. Instead, tempted by radicalisation, he took the opposite course.

As for Chirac, he never fails to grasp his advantages and make the most of both his adversaries' and his partners' weak points. He gives the appropriate speech at the appropriate time and commits himself to a Majority pact just when the UDF is wavering and the interests of national union prevent other possible leaders of the right from rising up to point out their differences.

Public confidence, good election prospects, a sewn-up Majority: Chirac has another big card up his sleeve in the person of Edouard Balladur (Finance Minister). Balladur is without a doubt the man who is running the show. With him Chirac can make people feel that at his right hand is a man who, in the public's eyes, is a match for Raymond Barre (former Finance and Prime Minister). This man, previously unknown to the public, has moreover emerged as one of the stars of the Majority, ranking sixth in the list with a 28 per cent popularity rating. While Chirac plays the president, Balladur is prime minister. So, as Chirac points out, doesn't this team deserve "to continue the work it's doing"?

A little less than a year ago, the two men forged a risky strategy underpinned by a dual calculation — power-sharing could work if there was agreement with the President on a different interpretation of the constitution; the lead established by Barre could be wiped out by the advantages of the legislative victory and the government. The strategy required Chirac to step into the most exposed post, that of Prime Minister.

Today, Chirac alone is not responsible for a situation which has become exceptionally favourable. The President and chance have also something to do with it.

The President gave the signal for national union — "when it comes to combating terrorism, we go hand-in-hand," he told the Prime Minister on September 15 — and the mood of unity which has been established is facilitating Chirac's task. At the same time, Mitterrand's attitude, which is guided by the principle that "the government governs", is for the moment resulting in this incredible paradox of putting the Socialist Party (which, like it or not, is still the President's party) in a position where it finds itself more destabilised than the right.

In addition, in the present circumstances, Barre is caught in a squeeze. He will have to wait in silence (he had consistently preached against power-sharing and predicted a crisis) until the facts prove him right. And very soon he will have to cope with the mechanisms of party solidarity set up within the Majority by and for Chirac.

Where Chirac has been lucky of course is that the UDF has collapsed. The UDF is more than ever a sum of rival personalities who are all facilitating the process of vassalisation begun on March 16 with the help of François Léotard.

So much so that ultimately the question could be whether the UDF will be able to name (and support) "its" candidate to the presidential election. The question above all is whether it is not in the Prime Minister's interest to hasten that day, in short to put an end to power sharing. Why indeed wait and grow stale again (once the mood of national unity passes off, the "living conditions of the French", as Socialist Party Secretary Lionel Jospin puts it, will once more become a major concern of the country).

But it is hard to see how Chirac could go along with such a line. For there is still very strong public feeling against any sort of political crisis. Chirac himself would doubtless lose the benefits of his long patience which helped him to live down his reputation as a nervous character. And, finally it is the President alone who can fix the timetable for an election.

Now as ever time is Mitterrand's trump card. And temperament is Chirac's biggest handicap. It is this temperament which prompts him to promise one thing one moment and the opposite the next, when he is not playing at double or quits every day. Witness the ambiguity of the line he is taking with Syria. "His problem," Georges Pompidou used to say, "will be growing up." In fact, the presence of Balladur at his side and Mitterrand above him is forcing him to behave as if he has grown up. But has he really?

(October 3)

Italian anti-nuclear campaign builds up steam

ROME — The future of civilian nuclear energy has become a major political issue in Italy in the past few weeks. Those who advocate doubling the number of nuclear power plants already existing, under construction or planned — from three to six units — are now very much in a minority. (Italy currently has only one big nuclear plant on stream at Caorso in the Po valley; another is at a a very advanced stage of construction at Montalso, north of Rome; and work has started on a third plant at Trino Vercellese, in the Piedmont.)

Until early September, the anti-nuclear campaign was for the most part carried on by a hodge-podge environmentalist groups of various political persuasions. Only the smaller parties like the Radical Party (11 Deputies) and the Proletarian Democratic Party (seven Deputies) carried such views into the Italian parliament. The Radical Party, in particular, took the initiative in the spring of collecting 500,000 signatures in view of a forthcoming referendum on the subject.

Things took quite a different turn however when the deputy leader of the Italian Socialist Party (PSI), Claudio Martelli, declared that the time had now come for Italy to abandon civilian nuclear energy altogether. Now the PSI's position until then had been that nuclear energy was at least a necessary evil and that the country had a duty to make use of it to meet even a small part of its electricity needs. Last November, the party approved the umpteenth draft of a "national energy plan" which provided for Italy to be producing, by the beginning of the next century, 6 per cent of its electrical power from nuclear plants as against the present 3.8 per cent. And at the Tokyo summit meeting only days after the Chernobyl disaster, the party's leader, Prime Minister Bettino Craxi, signed apparently without any qualms the seven-power document stating that the peaceful utilisation of the atom was indispensable for the development of industrialised countries.

Martelli's statement therefore caused a sensation. As it was made shortly after his return from the congress of the West German Socialist Party (SDP), there was some talk of his suffering from the "Nuremberg syndrome" — from the name of the German city where the SDP had just formally voted in favour of halting the construction of nuclear power plants in the West Germany. The PSI's adversaries — and they are legion even in the ruling coalition headed by this party — spoke of "duplicity" and even an "Italian-style comedy". Quipped Giorgio La Malfa, the No 2 figure in the Republican Party: "The Socialist Party is nuclear with Reagan and anti-nuclear with Marco Pannella (leader of the Radical Party)." The judgment of La Malfa, a staunch supporter of the atom, could only by reinforced when Craxi himself rushed to defend his deputy in an article he contributed (under a pseudonym, of course) to the Socialist Party newspaper Avanti.

Martelli protested he was no turncoat. Shortly after Chernobyl, the PSI had in fact called for a pause to think things over. And the second Craxi government's programme, finalised at the end of July by its five coalition partners (Socialists, Christian Democrats, Republicans, Liberals and Social Democrats) provided for a decision to be taken only after a national conference on the subject, which would be held in December. The PSI's opponents-cum-partners could accuse it of hamstringing the coming debate by adopting a quite rigid preliminary posture.

This was the mildest of the charges made, for example, by the Christian Democratic Party. Some of the members of Italy's biggest

By Jean-Pierre Clerc

party were eager to accuse the PSI of betraying its electoral obsessions by espousing a cause apparently so obviously popular in Italy. Commentators pointed out more subtly that Craxi's party was taking this stand in view of the possibility that the Radical Party might go into voluntary liquidation and leave behind one million voters waiting to be picked up by its more attractive neighbour.

What electoral scheming, protested Socialists. They argue that Italy, which only very cautiously and reluctantly opened the door to nuclear energy, can abandon it without causing an upheaval and go back to coal and methane "while waiting for controlled fusion to come on stream in the very near future." Isn't avoiding the kind of risk recently experienced by the Ukrainians worth such a small sacrifice? In its local offices the Italian Socialist Party has already begun a very active campaign against nuclear power plants.

The PSI's u-turn would appear to have liberated the Italian Communist Party (PCI), whose grassroots following split almost evenly down the middle at the recent congress in Florence with the pros triumphing over the antis by a hair's-breadth. In the last fortnight or so, quite high-level Communist officials have been coming out with statements very hostile to nuclear energy. The party's deputy leader, Achille Ochetto, moreover took part in a public rally in the Piedmont to protest against the construction work now going on at the Trino Vercellese plant. At the traditional festival of the party paper Unita on September 14, the party's secretary-general Alexandro Natta hinted his party could possibly even support the Radicals' anti-nuclear referendum.

But the PCI has also to reckon with a hardcore of nuclear defenders clustered around its nuclear physicists, whose arguments are not so easy to budge. They particularly like to compare Italy with Japan — a country with a high risk of earth tremors — which is just as dependent on external supplies of energy and is still at the forefront of progress and yet 44 nuclear power plants are on stream or are under construction there today.

The PCI could opt for a "graduated way out" — closing down old small power plants immediately, halting construction work on all new nuclear power plants and setting a reasonably distant deadline for closing down the only operational plant (Caorso) and halting the work, which is at a very advanced stage, at the Montalto plant. The PCI has, moreover, realised that with the nuclear topic it could hope to build a solid enough bridge towards the Socialist Party and the left. This would be one way of breaking out of its isolation which has lasted seven years.

The Christian Democratic Party, which after 40 years of holding office without a break, is primarily responsible for Italy's present nuclear situation, is forced to take a cautiously conservative line. As a party of the people, it knows that atoms are unpopular, and it must take account of that. But it also knows that a cutback of a few half-points in growth and a percentage-point or so increase in inflation, which is bound to be caused by a hasty shutting down of nuclear power plants, will doubtless by force of habit be held against it. The party's secretary, Ciriaco De Mita, has therefore recommended its members not to commit themselves on the subject until December's national conference.

As a matter of fact, things appear to have been already settled — theoretically at least: the answer will be "no" to nuclear power plants. But as it so often happens in Italy, carrying out decisions in practice could turn out to be a cautious, in short as slow a process as the construction of the power plants has been, in spite of receiving regular approval from the people's representatives.

(September 30)

'Father of Zimbabwe' looking for an honourable exit

HARARE — Was it a simple coincidence that the recently opened shopping centre in the heart of the Zimbabwean capital bore the name Karigamombe? The word, in Shona, means "he who felled the ox" — a clear reference to Zimbabwe's Prime Minister Robert Mugabe. After all, hasn't all political activity in the country in the past few months been centred around the merger "under the same umbrella" of the party in power, the Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU), and its rival, the Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU), whose symbol is precisely the ox.

Expectations of such a tidying up had been hinted at when the eighth summit of the Movement of Non-aligned Nations took place recently in Harare. Indeed, Mugabe would not have been displeased to appear before his fellow prime ministers as a peace-maker; nor would it have displeased Joshua Nkomo, ZAPU's leader, to finally stop playing the role of a political "outcast". The Zimbabwean authorities in fact weighed the risks of the operation and did not want to invite surprises and disturbances just when the eyes of the whole world were focused on Harare.

Both sides are determinedly optimistic about the negotiations, which are dragging on with many ups and down, coming to a successful conclusion shortly. "Mr Nkomo isn't making any more wild demands," noted an observer. The veteran nationalist leader merely wants an honourable end to a quarrel going back to the days of white Rhodesia and the war of independence. He is already said to have agreed that the merger should take place under the ZANU banner and that only a part of the ZAPU central committee should be absorbed into ZANU's central committee. The man who is regarded

Nkomo: broken

as "the Father of Zimbabwe" is reported to have confided: "God will not let me enter paradise if I don't succeed in making peace."

For his part, Mugabe facilitated matters by releasing, some weeks ago, about 60 political prisoners, including several top ZAPU officials who had been accused of plotting against the Zimbabwean Prime Minister. And he has promised to review the cases of those still in prison, whose number he puts at "less than 200". Among those held since 1982 is General Dumiso Dabengwa, Nkomo's heir apparent and head of ZIPRA, the former ZAPU army. The question is whether Dabengwa's supporters will consider the release of this "hardliner" as an essential prerequisite for national reconciliation.

The reconciliation is causing problems inside ZANU itself, for it will inevitably lead to a shift in the power balance within the party and the government. All those who fear they will pay the price of the operation are naturally trying to hold it up and even sabotage it. The reconciliation is also likely to result in a different ethnic mix in the composition of governing bodies, probably with Mugabe's own Zezurus and Nkomo's Ndebeles getting a bigger share at the expense of the Karangas and the Manicas, the other two ethnic groups in the government.

Provincial governors, who until now have been taking advantage of such divisions to carve out private fiefdoms for themselves, are not very pleased either by such political prospects. As for grassroots activists, they are having a hard time reconciling themselves to the thought that their counterparts in ZAPU, who have

By Jacques de Barrin

always been their enemies, can now be treated like honest citizens.

In any case, for Mugabe and his followers, Nkomo is no longer an adversary to be reckoned with. They have done what had to be done to bring about this situation, especially by throwing his chief supporters in gaol and pursuing a policy of methodically intimidating ZAPU members. The "Father of Zimbabwe" is 69 today; he is a sick and broken man with no future and with no great authority over his own followers; his sole concern is to find an honourable exit from the political stage.

However, Mugabe's problems with ZAPU hardliners are not over either for they will not readily agree to lay down their arms. Frustrated at having the war of

Mugabe: tidying up

independence stolen from them and aware that sooner or later they will be swallowed up by ZANU, they know they do not have much to lose. The Zimbabwean authorities fear South Africa may try to exploit such "dissidence" by keeping up the pressure — at little cost to itself — in Nkomo's stronghold of Matabeleland.

For the moment the dissidence in the "rebellious" province of Matabeleland is less active. On the initiative of John Laurie, former chairman of the Union of Commercial Farmers, the protection of local farmers has been entrusted to a 250-strong militia unit paid by the farmers themselves and armed by the government. The dreaded North Korean-trained Fifth Brigade is no longer rampaging in the region where it used to perpetrate the most unspeakable acts of violence. The regular army has been operating in the region for the past three years and it is behaving properly towards the people. A sixth brigade is at present being recruited for taking over its work.

This does not mean that human rights violations are a thing of the past. The militia and the party's youth organisation are still behaving extremely aggressively towards anyone they consider, rightly or wrongly, to be a political opponent. Enos Nkala, the very activist Home Affairs Minister, has a special police and investigative corps operating directly under his orders and it does not hesitate to resort to torture — especially torture by water and electric shock — to extract confessions from "suspects".

"The human rights violations that Amnesty International has exposed are not theoretical cases," agree many observers. Understandably therefore, the local authorities recently branded Amnesty International as an "enemy of the nation" and are today frantically trying to run its correspondents to earth. They feel it is all the more necessary to discredit this organisation now because the day all political prisoners are freed Amnesty will realise that hundreds are still missing and it will not be able to remain silent.

It is one thing to merge two political parties, but quite a different matter to reunite the Zimbabwean people. This is a much more complicated task. "Matabeleland's irredentism is not about to disappear," point out observers. "There'll always be incidents which will serve as excuses for further disturbances." The Ndebeles do in fact feel a greater kinship with their southern neighbours, the Transvaal Zulus, with whom they once formed a vast empire, than with their neighbours to the north, the Shonas who are now ruling in Harare.

(September 24)

The Washington Post

After Sanctions

THE Senate did what it had to do in overriding President Reagan's veto of South African sanctions. Especially for Republicans who went against their own chief, it was a painful vote. But it was also necessary, given the urgent requirements at this point to mute the signals of American equivocation on apartheid emitted, although not deliberately, by the White House. It was necessary to demonstrate that across the spectrum of American politics, opposition to apartheid burns.

Some Republican senators seemed genuinely surprised and offended to find South Africa's foreign minister reminding them that sanctions are a game two can play — that South Africa might retaliate by halting purchases of American grain and by denying transit of grain to black-ruled states next door. But it is myopic not to understand that Pretoria believes it is fighting a war for survival — for the cultural if not the physical survival of the Afrikaner community. It has very substantial weapons to bring to bear, including the capacity and taste to make much of the burden fall on its black citizens and neighbors. This is not an argument against sanctions meant to accelerate political change. It is an argument for going into sanctions with open eyes.

In shorthand this is a sanctions bill. Actually, the Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act of 1986 is an unusually ambitious and detailed statement of a broad political strategy in which various sticks and carrots are offered not only to draw the South African government toward a just society but to draw black political organizations, including the African National Congress, toward American standards of nonviolence and democracy. Such a strategy, however, cannot conceivably be pursued by congressional directive alone. It requires the active and sympathetic cooperation of the president, and it begs belief to think that Ronald Reagan is going to embrace the myriad tasks of daily policy-making that Congress has prescribed for him. This was always the danger of a policy in whose making both parts of the government, and both parties, did not share.

So this is no moment for unrestrained cheering. Rather, it is a moment for sober deliberation by all of the American actors on how some semblance of working policy unity can be restored. The object, after all, is not simply to get on the right side of history. It is to help move South Africa — the power on one side, the society on the other — toward political consensus. Responsible people at both ends of Pennsylvania Avenue must put behind them the draining sanctions battle and accept that urgent agenda. Otherwise, the sanctions are nothing.

The Test In Iceland

IF something had to be paid, and it did, then the United States came out of the Daniloff affair better than it looked for a while. Nicholas Daniloff was freed without a trial — "vindicated", as he put it — although the nasty precedent of hoking up spy charges against a journalist remains. One of the great moral lights of the Soviet Union, the dissident Yuri Orlov, is also now freed. Progress was made, though more is needed, on clamping down on Soviet spying at the United Nations. Ronald Reagan got the early summit meeting he was after — it is to be called a preparatory meeting — without meeting Mikhail Gorbachev's pressure-cooker condition of prior assurance of an arms control agreement.

In return, like all accused Soviet spies before him, Gennadi Zakharov goes home, but only after a no-contest plea that equates with guilt. Moscow keeps alive the issue of UN staffing for presentation at the Reykjavik meeting. General Secretary Gorbachev also gets the opportunity, in Iceland, to press further his arms control case.

The incident already has become established in hard-line lore as one of the more unforgivable American humiliations since the war. A broader public, however, is likely to be respectful of Mr. Reagan for finally avoiding any strict equivalence between the two prisoners and for handling the Daniloff case in a way that does not seem to prejudice pending negotiations.

Certainly there is no call to regard this sequence of events, as some do, as a healthy and timely demonstration of damage control. The chemistry of great-power relations, and of Soviet and American politics as they affect those relations, is too unpredictable for such a sanguine reading. It is enough that the search for substantive agreement, which is far more important than simply movement toward a summit meeting, can be resumed.

Iceland: One hopes it turns out to be an ironic name, not an apt name, for a Soviet-American meeting place. There has been much talk of whether one side or the other needed a summit meeting at all, or needed one more. This essentially tendentious question must now yield to specific planning, in a very short time, for a session that will serve American interests.

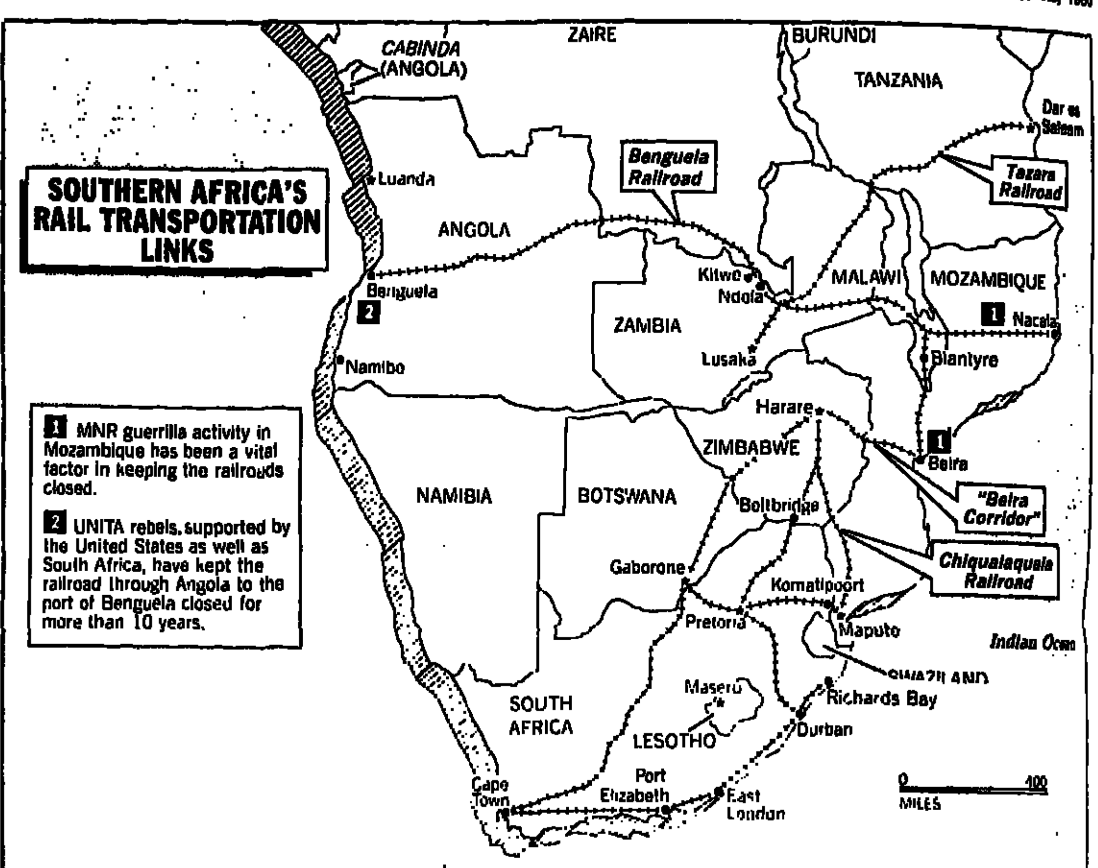
At this second meeting of the two leaders, getting acquainted and touring the horizon are inadequate goals. The circumstances and especially the early date argue for a businesslike tone, a short agenda, an emphasis on the practical as opposed to the conceptual and, as always, an absence of illusions. In wrapping up the Daniloff affair, President Reagan and Secretary of State George Shultz were at pains to treat the Soviet Union as a competent negotiating partner with whom further business could be done. That is the test at Reykjavik.

Missile Agreement

Contined from page 15

reassuring his allies about his commitment to reducing the dangers of an outbreak of war. Soviet counterdeployments of short-range missiles in East Germany and Czechoslovakia following the 1984 stationing of Pershings and cruises led to veiled letters of complaint in the East Berlin and Prague communist party newspapers.

Some Western European commentators here have argued that an INF decision, coming on the eve of national elections in West Germany next January, would boost the chances of the ruling center-right coalition in Bonn, which Moscow has treated coldly since it approved the deployments of Pershings and cruises in 1983. But Soviet analysts of Western European affairs admitted privately that incumbent Chancellor Helmut Kohl and his conservative coalition will probably be reelected anyway against the Social Democratic Party, more favored by Moscow.



Pretoria's Stranglehold On Neighbours

By Allister Sparks

HARARE, Zimbabwe — There was a moment's silence while the white executive who works as an economic technician for southern Africa's black governments did some rapid desk-top calculations.

Then he looked up and answered the region's crucial question. "Yes," he said, "we could survive retaliation sanctions by South Africa, but it would require fairly massive initial assistance. I'd say $3 billion over four years."

Edward G. Cross is the key figure in what has been described as southern Africa's tracheotomy operation — the opening up of a transportation passage that will enable South Africa's neighboring black states to continue breathing if the white-ruled republic responds to international sanctions by trying to choke them to death.

He heads a nine-nation coordinating committee that is directing a crash program to reconstruct the "Beira corridor," a 400-mile railroad, highway and oil-pipeline route connecting Zimbabwe's capital of Harare with Mozambique's Indian Ocean port of Beira.

The corridor is one of six outlets that the landlocked "front-line states" bordering South Africa have to the sea. Four are inoperative because of lack of maintenance and sabotage by South African-backed insurgents. The other two are in a badly run-down state.

The result is that the front-line states depend on South Africa's transportation network for 68 percent of their vital import-export trade. It means that as the call for sanctions to force South Africa to abandon apartheid, which as black states they feel morally obliged to do, they run the risk of crippling retaliation by Pretoria.

South Africa is also in a position to use them as economic hostages, threatening to strangle them if the major powers move toward total sanctions.

South Africa already has demonstrated its ability to do this. After Zimbabwe and Zambia announced in July that they would apply Commonwealth sanctions against South Africa, Pretoria ordered go-slow inspections on all trains and trucks crossing its northern borders and demanded a stiff customs deposit for all Zambian imports crossing its territory. The economic effects were felt in these countries immediately.

Cross's committee was formed last year to break this stranglehold. It was initiated by an alliance of nine black states called the Southern African Development Coordination Conference (SADCC), established in 1980 to maximise regional cooperation and reduce the countries' dependence on South Africa.

The port of Beira once handled 80 percent of the trade from this region before 20 years of guerrilla warfare and economic collapse in Mozambique reduced it to a dilapidated and barely functional outlet. Now Cross's committee has embarked on a $300 million project to restore the corridor and harbor.

The emergency first phase of the project will be completed in December, Cross said in a recent interview here. Beira and the other operational route — the Tazara railroad that runs from Zambia to the Tanzanian port of Dar es Salaam — then will be able to handle 60 percent of the front-line states' trade, he explained.

The second phase is scheduled for completion in mid-1989. After that, Cross said, the front-line states will be able to handle all their own trade and their dependence on South Africa's transportation system will cease.

The interim period is the worrying time for them, when they still will be vulnerable to retaliatory action by Pretoria. This is what Cross was referring to when he said the front-line states would need $3 billion in assistance to survive if South Africa closed its borders to them before phase two of the Beira corridor project is completed.

"We would need a bridge," Cross said. "We would have to prioritize our exports and stockpile some. We would have to fly in vital specialist commodities like aviation fuel.

"We would face massive problems reorientating our supplies and markets, but with help we could survive. After four years we'd be okay."

The corridor project has been given priority rating by the SADCC states, and the railroad track is being relaid at the rate of half a mile a day. The next step will be to deepen the port of Beira so that it can take bigger ships, and to repair the derelict wharves.

According to Cross, train speeds already have increased from a pathetic 10 miles an hour to 40 miles an hour, and the time for the journey from Harare to Beira has been cut from four days to 12 hours.

Freight tonnages have been doubled from 600 to 1,200 tons, and the number of derailments reduced. "In six months last year there were 54 derailments," Cross said. "The trains just fell off the tracks, which kept breaking. Now we hardly have any."

Attacks by marauding rebel bands of the Mozambique National Resistance movement remain a problem. The rebels periodically blow up the track, the bridges and the oil pipeline. Sometimes they shoot up the trains. Zimbabwe has an estimated 12,000 troops in Mozambique helping to guard the corridor.

The corridor project is being financed by western aid, mainly from the Netherlands and Scandinavia. Canada and France are financing a smaller project to open up another railroad from Malawi to the northern Mozambique port of Nacala, which is scheduled for completion about the same time.

The front-line states contend that disruption of the transportation routes to force greater dependency on South Africa is a key aspect of Pretoria's strategy. They accuse South Africa of using proxy forces to do this — UNITA in Angola, the MNR in Mozambique, as well as mercenaries and dissidents who have moved south into the white-ruled republic.

Technicians like Cross agree with this assessment, but point out that lack of maintenance during 20 years of civil war in Mozambique and Angola has also caused the railroads and port facilities to deteriorate badly.

Jonas Savimbi's UNITA rebels, who are supported by the United States as well as South Africa, have kept the railroad through southern Angola to the Atlantic Ocean port of Benguela closed for more than 10 years. This used to be the main trade route for Zambia and Zaire, both of which are major copper exporters.

Today, Zambia and Zaire get most of their imports through South Africa. Zambia sends its copper northward along the slow and limited-capacity Tazara line to Dar es Salaam.

The other three closed routes all run through Mozambique. They are from Malawi's main commercial city of Blantyre to the northern Mozambican port of Nacala, from Blantyre to Beira, and from Harare to Mozambique's southern port and capital of Maputo.

Reagan Denies Libya Plan Involved 'Disinformation'

By David Hoffman

WASHINGTON — President Reagan said last week that he wants to make Libyan leader Moammar Gadhafi "go to bed every night wondering what we might do" to deter terrorism, but he denied that a plan he approved in August involved the spread of "disinformation" through the American news media. He was responding to a report (below) that the administration launched a secret effort of deception aimed at convincing Gadhafi that he was about to be attacked again by U.S. bombers and perhaps ousted in a coup.

The secret plan was outlined in a three-page memo sent to Reagan by national security affairs adviser John M. Poindexter. It called for "real and illusionary events — through a disinformation program — with the basic goal of making Gadhafi think that there is a high degree of internal opposition to him within Libya, that his key trusted aides are disloyal, that the U.S. is about to move against him militarily." Other administration officials said last week that the plan was approved by Reagan in a secret National Security Decision Directive that authorized the Central Intelligence Agency to spread false information about Gadhafi abroad and also ordered a series of U.S. military movements designed to frighten the Libyan leader.

Secretary of State George P. Shultz told reporters in New York that he knew of "no decision to have people go out and tell lies to the media" but that "if there are ways in which we can make Gadhafi nervous, why shouldn't we? Frankly, I don't have any problems with a little psychological warfare against Gadhafi. It's very easy. You people in the media enjoy not allowing the United States to do anything in secret, if you can help it." Shultz noted Winston Churchill's statement in World War II that "in time of war the truth is so precious it must be attended by a bodyguard of lies."

Presidential spokesman Larry Speakes said Poindexter had told him there was no effort to spread disinformation in the American media. Speakes said a report in The Wall Street Journal about Libya last August included intelligence information on Gadhafi that was "generally correct," although he said the newspaper had included "inflammatory stuff" in its report. After the Journal story appeared Aug. 25, Speakes described it as "authoritative." Speakes said last week that he had no comment on whether the administration had spread false information about Gadhafi outside the United States.

Reagan, meeting with a group of newspaper columnists and broadcast commentators at the White House, at first said, "I challenge the veracity of that entire story" published in The Post. But he then said the administration had been paying close attention to Gadhafi and "I can't deny" that "here and there, they're going to have something to hang it on." Asked whether there were memos describing a deliberate effort to mislead the American people, Reagan said: "Those I challenge. They were not a part of any meeting I've ever attended."

Pressed further about whether the administration intentionally put out false information, Reagan recalled arguments about using nuclear weapons in Vietnam while he was California governor. "And I said at the time that, while we knew that we were never going to use nuclear weapons there, we should never say that," he said. "We should just let them go to bed every night wondering whether we might use those weapons. Well, the same thing is true with someone like Gadhafi and with all the speculation that was going on in the media throughout the world about whether our action would tempt him into further acts or not.

"And constantly there were questions — aimed at me as to were we planning anything else. My feeling was, I wouldn't answer those questions. My feeling was just the same thing — he should go to bed every night wondering what we might do."

A senior administration official closely involved with the Libya plan took issue with The Post account in a briefing for newspaper columnists and broadcasters at the White House. He described as "absolutely false" the "implication that somehow the U.S. government had initiated or that the president had authorized a program of disinformation for the American media." He added, "You must distinguish between the audiences, you must distinguish between deception and disinformation."

The administration plan drew criticism last week from editors of major news organizations and from experts on terrorism.

"I think it was one of the most important and depressing stories I've read in a long time," said A.M. Rosenthal, executive editor of The New York Times. "The implications that our government was sitting around figuring out how to lie to the press makes me rather ill. It makes you ask a lot of questions. Who authorized this kind of thing? Has it happened before? Who's going to believe those people again?"

Robert Kupperman, an expert on terrorism, called the disinformation campaign "embarrassing" and compared it to the Central Intelligence Agency's plan to sabotage the public image of Cuban leader Fidel Castro by dusting his shoes with a chemical to make his beard fall out. "If we're really going to go after the guy," he said, "we ought to kill him."

Secret Campaign Of Deception To Destabilise Gadhafi

By Bob Woodward

WASHINGTON — In August the Reagan administration launched a secret and unusual campaign of deception designed to convince Libyan leader Moammar Gadhafi that he was about to be attacked again by U.S. bombers and perhaps be ousted in a coup, according to informed sources and documents. The secret plan, adopted at a White House meeting on Aug. 14, was outlined in a three-page memo that John M. Poindexter, the president's national security affairs adviser, sent to President Reagan.

"One of the key elements" of the new strategy, the Poindexter memo said, "is that it combines real and illusionary events — through a disinformation program — with the basic goal of making Gadhafi 'think' (word underlined in the original) that there is a high degree of internal opposition to him within Libya, that his key trusted aides are disloyal, that the U.S. is about to move against him militarily."

It was an elaborate plan: "a series of closely coordinated events involving covert, diplomatic, military and public actions," according to Poindexter's memo. Military officers expressed some reservations about the plan, and intelligence specialists were deeply divided about its potential efficacy. The plan was the latest phase of the administration's policy, first adopted last year, to try to topple Gadhafi, a known instigator of terrorist acts and targeted by the administration as a threat that has to be removed.

Beginning with an Aug. 25 report in The Wall Street Journal, the American news media — including The Washington Post — reported as fact much of the false information generated by the new plan. Published articles described renewed Libyan backing for terrorism and a looming, new U.S.-Libya confrontation. But U.S. intelligence officials had actually concluded in August that Gadhafi was "quiescent" on the terrorist front, according to the Poindexter memo. The only "confrontation" was the one generated by the administration plan, according to sources and administration planning papers.

During September, however, U.S. intelligence agencies assembled evidence that Libya had begun planning a significant number of terrorist attacks, and some senior officials are concerned that this is in part a response to the administration's latest campaign against Gadhafi. Of greatest concern to U.S. officials are reports considered reliable but still inconclusive that Libya had a direct hand in the Sept. 5 attack on Pan American World Airways Flight 073 at Karachi airport in Pakistan and provided logistical support for the terrorists, according to informed sources.

When the administration's secret deception plan was launched in August, officials acknowledged in internal memos that it might provoke Gadhafi into new terrorist acts. But senior officials decided that the potential benefits of the operation outweighed this risk. The objective of the plan was to keep Gadhafi "preoccupied" and "off balance" and to portray him as "paranoid and ineffective" so that, as the memo put it, "forces within Libya which desire his overthrow will be emboldened to take action."

Poindexter's three-page memo to Reagan outlining the plan was drafted in preparation for a National Security Planning Group (NSPG) meeting convened to consider the next steps the administration would take against Gadhafi. The NSPG is the key Cabinet-level forum in which Reagan and his top aides discuss and make decisions on the most sensitive foreign-policy matters. The president, Poindexter and nine other key officials met at the White House to discuss this plan at 11 a.m. Thursday, Aug. 14. Sources said the basic plan was approved and codified in general terms in a formal presidential decision document. Details of the plan were left to Poindexter, the State Department and the Central Intelligence Agency.

Soon after the meeting administration officials told reporters that the United States had new intelligence indicating that Gadhafi was again stepping up his terrorist plans, following a four-month lull after the April 14 American bombing raid against Libya. But Poindexter's memo to Reagan just before the Aug. 14 meeting painted a less alarming picture: "Although the current intelligence-community assessment is that Gadhafi is temporarily quiescent in his support of terrorism, he may soon move to a more active role."

Other sources confirmed that there was no significant, reliable intelligence in mid-August to suggest that Gadhafi was stepping up his terrorist plans.

But the State Department and the CIA concluded that it might be an opportune moment to execute the coup de grace against the Libyan leader. A White House planning document sent to CIA Director William J. Casey before the Aug. 14 meeting said: "Gadhafi's aura of invincibility has been shattered, his prestige is badly tarnished and his grip on power seems precarious."

But administration analysts evidently were of two minds. The Poindexter memo to Reagan written at the same time said: "Most intelligence estimates conclude that in spite of new tensions and Gadhafi's own shock, depression and impaired performance following the April 14 raid, he is still firmly in control in Libya."

Over the summer, the administration considered but rejected mining the harbors of Libya, sources said. The anti-Gadhafi forces that the CIA had been supporting proved weak and disorganized, the sources said. All of the efforts against Gadhafi were apparently thwarted by his personal security force and a network of informers in Libya and among Libyan exiles.

Officials acknowledged in their internal discussions that the deception plan was risky. "Gadhafi may lash out against Americans and regional friends with terror and subversion," said the White House memo sent to Casey. But the administration concluded that potential benefits outweighed any dangers. "There are risks," that memo said. "However, the benefits of a successful policy demand that every appropriate effort be made to achieve our objectives."

Senior officials said Reagan, Casey and Secretary of State George P. Shultz are particularly determined to remove Gadhafi. As Poindexter said in his August memo, the purpose of taking additional steps against Libya was to deter terrorism, moderate Libyan policies and "bring about a change of leadership in Libya. . . ." The administration has concluded that, as the Poindexter memo said, "any alternative leadership to Gadhafi would be better for U.S. interests and international order."

The mid-August plan approved by Reagan did not specifically call for the planting of false stories in the U.S. media. A State Department planning memo, however, did provide that "U.S. government backgrounds media on 1) three-ring circus in Libya with in-fighting among groups jockeying for post-Gadhafi era, 2) threat of resurgent terrorism. . . ."

The secret plan also called for "foreign media placements" by the CIA.

When a report appeared on the front page of The Wall Street Journal on August 25 stating without qualification that "The U.S. and Libya are on a collision course again," it was embraced publicly by Poindexter and White House spokesman Larry Speakes, who called the article "authoritative." On the basis of those endorsements, other news organizations, including The Post, carried reports summarizing the information that intitially appeared in The Journal. In subsequent days administration officials both affirmed and denied that there was new evidence of Libyan-backed terrorism, or that a new confrontation was in the offing. In reponse to a question to the White House about stories published in August on Libya, one official said: "The media deceived itself and the stories were hyped . . ."

The Journal's August 25 story reported as fact various administration plans that were actually part of the deception plan described in the August memos. The report did not mention deception, the key ingredient in the plan. The paper quoted "a senior U.S. official" as saying of Gadhafi: "There are increasing signs that he's resumed planning and preparations for terrorist acts." Acording to the Poindexter memo to Reagan, there were no such signs.

The Journal wrote: "The Reagan administration is preparing to teach the mercurial Libyan leader another lesson. Right now, the Pentagon is completing plans for a new and larger bombing of Libya in case the president orders it."

In fact, the administration only had contingency plans for new military action that were several months old, and nothing new was being done, sources said.

The Journal report said the administration was considering action through the African country of Chad to put pressure on Gadhafi, who has annexed a portion of Chad with about 6,000 Libyan troops. According to The Journal, "The deputy commander in chief of the U.S. European Command, Gen. Richard Lawson, quietly visited the poverty-stricken desert nation (of Chad) earlier this month to see whether (Chad) President (Hissene) Habre, with U.S. and French help, might be able to expel the Libyans." In August, a State Department planning paper on the deception plan said: "Lawson's trip to Chad later this month provides an opportunity for disinformation to reach Gadhafi that the U.S. and France are developing contingency plans for a 'Chad Option.' "

Lawson visited Chad on Aug. 12 and 13, but State Department officials said recently that the United States never formally had discussions with France about joint action against the Libyan forces there. France has tacitly accepted the partition of Chad.

The Chad aspect of the deception plan apparently grew out of a National Security Council memo dated Aug. 7, proposing that the United States attempt to "shame France into asserting itself" in Chad, a former French colony. The document suggested communicating through "military-to-military channels and not through the political channels which failed earlier this year. . . . Given the stated desire of some (French) general officers to cooperate with us against Gadhafi, we might actively encourage them to sell the proposal to their civilian leadership."

After The Journal and other news reports appeared describing the purported U.S. proposal to take joint action in Chad, sources said, the French voiced concern to the State Department. Instead of frightening Gadhafi, sources said, the disinformation scuttled possible cooperation with the French on Chad in the near future.

The August plan had a high-visibility military component. The White House memo to Casey said: "Overt DOD (Depart-

— Continued on page 18

Shevardnadze Signs Five-Year Grain Pact With Canada

By Herbert H. Denton

OTTAWA — Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze ended a three-day visit here last week, signing a five-year grain agreement that was anxiously sought by Canadian farmers and agreeing to "personally review" the cases of Soviet Jews and Ukrainians with family ties in Canada who are seeking to emigrate.

In a gesture highly unusual for a Soviet official, Shevardnadze took time out from his schedule to talk briefly on two occasions with protesters from Canadian Jewish organizations who had shadowed him during the visit. He accepted from them petitions and a list of names of 3,000 Jews who are trying to leave the Soviet Union for a number of other nations.

Canadian officials and Soviet security agents with Shevardnadze appeared stunned when he not only did not seek to avoid the small knot of demonstrators on Parliament Hill but walked up to them. "We have 3,000 names on this list who have family applications, including several cancer patients," a woman in the group blurted out. In a soothing voice, the foreign minister said, "You should not worry." He took the list and promised to look into the matter.

After signing the grain agreement, and trailed by a larger throng of camera crews, Shevardnadze returned to speak again with the protesters and expressed concern that they had had to stand for two hours. Ottawa Rabbi Reuven Bulka retorted: "You know, standing outside in the nice bright sunshine is nothing compared to spending 20 years in a Soviet prison for no reason whatsoever."

The Soviet foreign minister maintained a cordial demeanor as he openly sought to establish a stronger relationship with Canada and appeared to be acting subtly to exploit differences between Canada and the United States. He flattered Prime Minister Brian Mulroney and External Affairs Minister Joe Clark by consulting them on arms control issues and by listening attentively and taking notes when they reeled off the names of relatives of Canadian citizens hamstrung in their efforts to leave the Soviet Union. He said he would "personally review" the cases of the 40 families seeking to come to Canada.

"I've had an excellent meeting," Mulroney said after spending more than an hour with the Soviet minister. Shevardnadze told the Canadian press corps that they were not as "pushy" as their American colleagues, who tended to "put on a full-court press." "We understand that Canada and the U.S. are allies that are bound by certain obligations which they take into account," he said at a press conference. "On the other hand, we know this: the Canadians don't always agree with the Americans." He mentioned Canadian support for the unratified SALT II treaty and for the Soviets' voluntary moratorium on nuclear testing as examples of the differences.

The Soviet foreign minister appeared to score the most points with the Canadians by his decision to renew the five-year grain agreement with Canada that expired last July. Canadian farmers had been deeply concerned at the prospect of losing a significant share of the Soviet market after President Reagan offered in August to sell American grain to the Soviet Union at subsidized prices. But Shevardnadze ended their anxiety by agreeing to continue to purchase a minimum of 5 million tons annually from Canada at almost the same time that the U.S. deadline for accepting Reagan's offer was passing.

Secret Campaign Of Deception

Continued from page 17

ment of Defense) operations will also be required to give credibility to rumors that the U.S. intends to take further military action." The memo said there would be "unilateral and joint exercises designed to deceive, overburden and 'spook' Libyan defenses."

U.S. and Egyptian forces conducted military exercises, called "Seawind," in the region in August. Sources said the exercises were carried out in a particularly provocative manner, sending aircraft into the Tripoli Flight Information Region so they would appear on Libyan radar, though the most provocative action, crossing Gadhafi's self-proclaimed "line of death" into the Gulf of Sidra, was not undertaken.

The administration plan specified that two U.S. diplomatic missions be given an anti-Libyan spin. One was a visit to European capitals by Vernon A. Walters, the U.S. ambassador to the United Nations; the other a visit by Assistant Secretary of Defense Richard L. Armitage last month to Libyan neighbors Algeria and Tunisia. Walters' mission, which followed the publication of The Journal report and Speakes' description of it as "authoritative," was billed as a briefing on the new U.S. evidence of Libyan sponsorship of terrorist acts. In fact, European sources told Washington Post correspondents in London and Bonn, Walters offered no such evidence to the Western allies. The Armitage trip, according to a planning memo, would provide a "similar opportunity for disinformation."

Other portions of the plan included attempts to make it appear that the United States was flying across the "line of death" by using deceptive radio communications. Another aspect of the plan involved deceptive aircraft-carrier operations to mislead Libya about the intent of U.S. forces to operate near its territory.

The CIA undertook placements of false information in the foreign media. Other covert techniques involving communications, U.S. aircraft and submarines were planned. One planning document said the false information should include articles showing that the Soviet Union was planning a coup in Libya. It said, "Libyan intelligence should be provided photography of Libyan dissidents meeting with Soviet officials in Paris, Baghdad, etc."

The U.S. intelligence community has been sharply divided over the new tactics against Gadhafi, according to informed sources. Some Libyan experts in the CIA are concerned that the administration's psychological warfare against Gadhafi will backfire, or already has. In this view, the U.S. plan is only feeding Gadhafi's desire to be at the center of events, and has likely fueled his terrorist schemes and plans to extend his rule in North Africa beyond Libyan borders.

The possibility that Libya did promote the Sept. 5 hijacking of the Pan Am jetliner in Karachi is cited by some specialists who fear the consequences of the U.S. deception plan, though there is no evidence that U.S. actions triggered the hijacking, which is the sort of terrorist act that Gadhafi has organized in the past. Sources stressed that U.S. intelligence agencies do not yet have conclusive proof of Libyan involvement in the Karachi hijacking, but said there are ominous signs of such complicity.

Reagan has publicly promised to take military action again against Libya, as he did in the April 14 raid, if that country is directly connected to other terrorist acts against U.S. installations or targets. The week after the raid, Reagan said, "If their government continues its campaign of terror against Americans, we will act again."

At the Aug. 14 meeting of Reagan and his top national security affairs advisers, Adm. William J. Crowe Jr., the chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, voiced concern about the plan, according to sources, questioning whether it was an appropriate use of military resources. He said that there was great danger in saying or implying that the United States was going to take dramatic steps, then failing to follow through. Crowe argued that this would lessen the deterrent value of the April 14 raid.

Though a variety of reservations were voiced during the hour-long meeting, sources said that the strong anti-Gadhafi sentiment in the administration overrode other considerations.

At one point, according to a source, Reagan made a joke about the Libyan leader's well-known proclivity for wearing ostentatious and colorful clothing. The president quipped, "Why not invite Gadhafi to San Francisco, he likes to dress up so much."

Shultz rejoined: "Why don't we give him AIDS!" Others at the table laughed.

[Asked about The Wall Street Journal's Aug. 25 report on Libya, the newspaper's managing editor, Norman Pearlstine, issued this statement:

"On Aug. 11, Washington bureau chief Al Hunt approved a proposal by John Walcott for a story on the situation in Libya, in anticipation of the Sept. 1 anniversary of the Gadhafi revolution. Hunt suggested involving Cairo correspondent Gerald F. Seib.

"The reporting which produced our Aug. 25 story came from multiple sources in multiple agencies of the U.S. government as well as several foreign governments, including material gathered by Seib. The reporting turned up much indisputable information, including the plan to send an emissary to Europe to seek new sanctions, and discussed the difficulties in pinning the exact blame for terrorist events. The Journal subsequently revealed in a story on Sept. 2 that the U.S. planned to 'promote reports in the Middle East of growing opposition to Gadhafi.'

"If our government also mounted a complex disinformation campaign, involving multiple sources here and abroad aimed at the U.S. press, we knew nothing about it. If, indeed, our government conducted such a domestic disinformation campaign, we were among its many victims."]

MARMADUKE HUSSEY, a director of Times Newspapers, has been chosen by Mrs Thatcher as new chairman of the BBC to succeed Mr Stuart Young, who died last month. Conservative backbenchers, who have been making increasing allegations recently about the BBC's alleged political bias, applauded the appointment of Mr Hussey, who is 63, to the £33,820 four days a week job. The appointment, however, brought a swift reaction from Mr Gerald Kaufman, the shadow home secretary, who declared the appointment to be "outrageous and provocative." A Labour government, he said, would examine the terms of appointment with the aim of removing him and replacing him with a better qualified chairman.

The 'Duke' at the helm

By Peter Fiddick

HE is 6ft 5in, 17-stone-plus, "enormously ebullient, noisy, friendly, a very powerful personality, with very strong views, and induces [illegible] loyalty." That was said by someone who worked closely with him at his most critical period.

"He's absolutely nothing, absolutely incompetent for the job. He was wheeled in as a toughie, but he's a genial nobody," said another. They both watched from within, then from the street, as the managing director ordered the Sunday Times and Times into suspension.

He is "an outrageous and provocative appointment". That was the shadow home secretary, Gerald Kaufman, on hearing the news and pledging Labour to remove the new chairman of the BBC's governing board as soon as they came to office.

"He goes straight for the bottom-line. And he has a short fuse." That is the experience of someone who knows the man in his most recent media enterprise, knocking an ailing commercial radio station into economic shape.

Quite what the arrival of Marmaduke "Duke" Hussey at Broadcasting House will mean for the BBC is a matter for contradictory conjecture. That the style will be very different from that of the quiet-spoken Stuart Young, whose death a month ago precipitated the hunt for a successor, is certain. That the Government has lit upon a figure even closer to the Conservative Party and to the establishment than Young is a matter of record. But whether this is a man with either the appetite or the capacity to force radical change on a large organisation — seen as Mrs Thatcher's personal aim — is less sure.

Duke Hussey, born in 1923, is for Fleet Street a major figure who had dropped out of sight. After Rugby, Oxford, the Grenadier Guards in Italy, he joined Associated Newspapers in 1949, went on to its board in 1964, was managing director of Harmsworth Publications, then moved to the Thomson Organisation as chief executive and managing director of Times Newspapers in 1971. In the mid-70s, it was Hussey who led a joint attempt of Fleet Street management to get a full-scale new technology agreement with the unions. The Plan For Action failed.

In 1977 the Thomson family interests grew impatient of mounting losses and industrial disruption, and in spring 1978 Hussey was ordered by the group's UK board to act. On April 26, he wrote to the union leaders saying he would suspend publication of the Times and Sunday Times on November 30 unless agreement had been reached on new manning levels, wage structures, and disputes procedures. There was no agreement — and it was October 21, 1979, before a deal for the papers' return was agreed.

Mr 'Duke' Hussey

Three months earlier, the unions had refused to negotiate further with Hussey, to his evident dismay, and insisted on going above him to the by then wavering Thomson Organisation top echelon. When it was over, one print worker, who had worked as a barman meanwhile, commented: "With every bitter I served I thought 'Duke Hussey, there's no way you're going to get away with this'."

Hence one part of Labour's reaction last week. But people who were closer to those events, and to Hussey's other newspaper industry experience do not see union-bashing as part of his make-up. His Establishment pedigree, on the other hand, looks flawless. His wife, Lady Susan Hussey, is daughter of the 12th Earl Waldegrave, elder sister of Mrs Thatcher's environment minister, William Waldegrave, and has been a lady-in-waiting to the Queen since 1960.

Hussey takes evident pleasure in the royal connection. Harold Evans, editor of the Times after the Murdoch take-over, records outraged reaction to some of his changes, including putting caricatures [illegible] Lord Drogheda, a national director of the paper, thought them "cruel" and complained to Murdoch, precipitating further debate. Evans records Duke Hussey's reaction: "Funnily enough, I saw Queen Elizabeth's (the Queen Mother's) private secretary Martin Gilliat at dinner last night and he is a very avid and discerning reader of the Times — as is his boss!" Gilliat had approved. "So I don't think you need worry about those letters." A royal pardon, Evans felt.

When Murdoch cleared out the inherited Thomson management, Hussey stayed as a consultant, and went on to the board of TNL in 1982. His executive responsibility since then seems to have been confined to organising the Times's bicentenary celebrations, at Hampton Court Palace, the royal family to the fore.

His surprise appointment to the BBC may have come through yet another connection. Like the former Times editor William Rees-Mogg, he lives in some style in Somerset. The two are close friends, and Rees-Mogg was himself deputy chairman of the BBC until this year, when he retired from the board, denied the chair to which he himself aspired.

Duke Hussey is a prominent figure in the West Country, and his only broadcast media experience has come quite recently. When Radio West, the Bristol-based ILR station, ran into economic difficulties, Hussey was brought in as chairman, and was largely responsible for cutting it back and effectively merging it with the neighbouring Wiltshire Radio. Since last October the two have traded out of Swindon, with Hussey as a joint chairman, and a greatly reduced Bristol operation. One who was at Bristol recalls with cautious approval: "He did say he believed the newsroom was the backbone of the station."

In more doubt, for some, is his intellectual capacity to grasp the complexities of a major organisation, both logistically and politically. "I can see him being pressured by the Government, but not being able to do anything about it," is one view.

Another is less sanguine. "The Murdoch connection in itself makes the appointment sinister in intent. If he was malleable enough to be told to shut down the Times, thick-skinned enough not to sense the reactions, and not clever enough to carry it off, what might he do at the BBC?"

A COUNTRY DIARY

CORNWALL: By the end of last week the afternoon tide had advanced to high water at 8pm. Each day the sea came in over sands which had been exposed to a day of sunshine and provided as warm a sea for swimming as any encountered this year. I walked the 200 yards from the cottage down to the beach to swim just before high tide and although the sea remained choppy it was a pleasant way to rinse off the sweat of a day in the garden. The week of the full moon — a splendid harvest moon which reflected each night off Veryan Bay in a long glittering trail — was a period of high pressure and gave September conditions at their best, warm sun by day and enough chill to make an open fire welcome at night.

Falling asleep to the lullaby of the sea gently stirring the shingles amongst the boulders of the foreshore was matched by a morning call from a pair of pheasants which came down off the fern covered hill to drink from the stream which runs through the garden. Occasionally the call of the curlew echoed into the valley from the higher land above but, despite some tuneful whistling which had the bird responding, I could not tempt him down to the lower ground and only saw him in flight across the sea.

The most interesting sighting of the week was a butterfly, one which does not occur in any of the guides as a species native to these shores. On hot sunny afternoons I saw this specimen several times on the top of a privet hedge close to the heat-reflecting wall of the cottage. Edged wings the colour of mushroom gills with irregular yellow patches suggest it was a Cardinal well outside its normal range and a vagrant from warmer southern shores.

Colin Luckhurst

Kaldor of King's

Professor Robert Neild on Lord Kaldor, the Cambridge economist, who died last week

NICKY KALDOR was one of the most brilliant, warm-hearted, and amusing people I have ever known. Through his extraordinary originality and persuasiveness, he probably had more influence on policy-making than any British political economist since Keynes.

He was born in Budapest in 1908 and attended the famous Model Gymnasium which produced a generation of brilliant men who came to the West, including Szilard, Teller, Von Neumann, Kurti, and many others. After a term in Berlin, he came as a student to the LSE in 1927 and after gaining a first swiftly became one of the young stars of the staff. During the war he was evacuated with the LSE to Cambridge, where he became part of the circle of economists that included Joan Robinson, Richard Kahn, and Piero Sraffa.

At the end of the war he served with the US Bombing Survey Unit, holding temporarily rank of colonel. The unit produced the famous report that dispelled the myth that bombing had done much to damage Germany's economic performance.

After two years in Geneva as director of research at the Economic Commission for Europe of which Gunnar Myrdal was the head, he was invited in 1949 to take up a lectureship at Cambridge and a fellowship at Kings', where he remained for the rest of his life. He made frequent excursions into the outside world. He was special adviser to the Chancellor of the Exchequer during the Labour governments of the 1960s and 1970s.

Having served on the Royal Commission on Income Tax under Lord Radcliffe in the early 1950s, he advised a remarkable number of Third World countries on fiscal policy, including India, Ghana, and Mexico. In 1974 he became a life peer and delighted making speeches in the House of Lords dissecting and challenging the tenets of monetarism.

The originality of Kaldor's mind, the force of his arguments, and the strength and charm of his personality was such that whenever he tackled a new subject or a new audience he had a powerful effect on it. In economic theory, he ranged far and wide through the series of production, employment, growth, distribution, trade cycles, money and inflation, scattering ideas and models. In applied economics he was a superb analyst of facts and figures.

All were written in the clearest English prose. But the key to the quality of [illegible] in which he combined an intuitive yet logical capacity to see new theoretical links with a grasp of how the world works, plus a capacious memory for economic facts.

Politically he was a radical. As a young man he was influenced by the Fabians and later by Keynes and Beveridge. His views were usually unorthodox. He cared deeply for social justice and for democracy. In recent years he became increasingly concerned about the nuclear arms race.

He was a natural companion and friend of the intellectuals of the Labour Party and was especially close to Tony Crosland and Dick Crossman. He also became a close friend of many people at the top of the Treasury and the Inland Revenue who, through all the arguments that raged about policy, became devoted to the benign eccentric in their midst.

His main influence was on tax policy where he repeatedly devised new taxes that might influence economic performance. They were usually controversial, sometimes shortlived — for example, the selective employment tax. Perhaps his most enduring influence, though it is sometimes forgotten, was to revive and elaborate the notion of an expenditure tax in place of the income tax.

Nicky Kaldor was tremendously good company. He was full of life; he was funny, simultaneously generous in word and deed yet intent upon winning any argument on which he embarked; and he was a great teacher. He loved England and felt very English, though he was always happy to visit Hungary and talk Hungarian. And he loved with pride his wife, his four daughters and 11 grandchildren.

Stripping bare a gypsy's passion

Gerald Larner reports from Glasgow on Scottish Opera's remarkable production of Carmen

AFTER a series of failures from its director of productions, neither Scottish Opera nor Graham Vick could afford another one — least of all on the symbolic occasion of John Mauceri's first appearance with the company since his appointment as its next music director. But the virtues of their new Carmen are so rare and so positive that it has to be the beginning of a reversal of Scottish Opera's failing fortunes.

There have been hopeful signs before in the last five years or so. This time it is different. Vick has set himself a prodigiously difficult task and has proved, in contradiction of doubts about his technical competence, that he can do it. Above all — and this is what is so rare about it — he has secured not only the agreement of the conductor but also his co-operation, so that the dramatic concept and the musical interpretation set out from the same point and are developed together.

The starting point is a bare stage, with no set and no furniture apart from four rows of chairs forming a square along the three walls and across the front. As the prelude ends, the company enters (in authentic Spanish costume) and takes its seats as though at rehearsal. As required, they stand or sing from their chairs.

The only luxury Vick allows himself is a revolve, which provides a vertiginous walkway for the passers-by and which carries a section of flooring which can be raised to the vertical to form a wall with a doorway whenever concealment or a significant entry has to be made.

During the first act Mauceri conducts the music in much the same way as Vick directs the action — which is to say that it is precise and disciplined, factual rather than impassioned, with no such thing as a great Karajan-like surge of cello sound on the fate motif as Carmen fixes her attention on Don Jose for the first time. She performs the habanera sitting on the floor with her back against the wall. Her seguidilla later in the same act is slightly more animated. In the second act she actually gets up on to the table to dance.

This is the clue to the way things are going. Scene by scene, act by act, the story comes to life, assuming its own kind of reality beyond the routine of the rehearsal room. As the emotions develop, the atmosphere intensifies, but still with such restraint and economy that the sunny lighting and the modestly picturesque detail of the street vendors at the fiesta in the last act look like a riot of colour.

At the same time the musical message is ever more urgently communicated — not to the point where it becomes overwhelming, but that has at least as much to do with the casting as the conducting.

One unexpected effect of this approach to the work is that it throws Micaela into such prominent relief — presumably because of the general reduction in colour around her. Certainly the producer takes advantage of the situation: it is she alone, dressed in mourning for his mother rather than a crowd of soldiers and bull fight fans, whom Don Jose has to face when he kills Carmen at the end.

Fortunately, in Jane Leslie Mackenzie, Scottish Opera has a Micaela of integrity in both personality and vocal line. Emily Golden — although, as one of Peter Brook's Carmens, she is used to this kind of thing — cannot equal her as a dramatic or, with her uncertain intonation, musical force. Gary Bachlund is a potentially lyrical but still fragile Don Jose.

Of course, it would be difficult for any cast to start from cold in the way of this production and, however precise and disciplined the direction, to survive four acts with the help of so few of the conventional theatrical resources.

At the same time they are coping with a new translation, which is always a problem, particularly for singers who have played the part before. Apparently, much of Anthony Burgess's text had to be changed during the rehearsals but, from what one can hear of it in the Theatre Royal, it seems witty and idiomatic enough to have been worth the trouble.



Idle delights: Nanki-Poo (Bonaventura Bottone) and Ko-Ko (Eric Idle) at the Coliseum.

Not quite Yum-yum

Tom Sutcliffe on Miller's Mikado

THE Mikado has been repatriated. The gentlemen of Japan now at the Coliseum are very clearly denizens of the Athanaeum in the 1920s. Comic orientalism is out: the world of Miss Marple and Margaret Dumont is in. The Mikado is not about Japan, says Jonathan Miller following G. K. Chesterton's line that "all the jokes in the play fit the English, if they would put on the cap."

It's not even about English perceptions of Japan, as Sondheim's Pacific Overtures is about the American view of Japan. It's about a kind of dotty imperial twilight, says Miller, and the Twenties (being suitably fashionable on television) will do nicely.

So Stefanos Lazaridis's all-white set is full of Lutyens and Rex Whistler, and Sue Blane dresses Pish-Tush in plus-fours, and Katisha in a turban-hat and goggles, with a long-fringed dress under her floor-length velvet great-coat, and Nanki-Poo in striped blazer, white ducks and boater.

Anthony van Laast choreographs chorus lines of leaping bellboys with red lips and rouged cheeks, and pony-prancing chambermaids with doyly head-dresses and neat white Lyons corner-house aprons. Three little maids really are from school, in gymslips tied with striped ties and carrying lacrosse rackets. The decor seals the illusion with ferns, grand piano, radiators and gramophone horn. It is all terrifically a la mode.

But The Mikado is not about 1920s England either, and Chesterton's hint that it works like Swift and Gulliver strikes me as wildly inflated and irrelevant. Like all operettas, The Mikado is only incidentally satirical at all: the secret of its success is that it is lightly, slightly romantic in a gently comic way, and the trick in performing it is to keep up the pace and/or support the fleeting reality of the emotions.

In a way Miller's Twenties trappings are even more specific and beside the point than the traditional Japanoiserie, yet Miller does not manage to evoke a tangible sense of an idealised world in which absurd and natural reactions clash divertingly together. Miller's Mikado is the prisoner of its updated image, so busy being knowing that it scarcely manages to trundle the tale along.

English National Opera have cast the show strongly, and there are some excellent performances. Richard Van Allan is an ideal Pooh-Bah, who gets his lines across absolutely in character but without resort to operatic enunciation. Bonaventura Bottone has a nicely complacent air as the jeune premier, Nanki-Poo. Felicity Palmer steals the show so overwhelmingly on her arrival as Katisha that her performance has nowhere else to go thereafter: the voice with its deadly accuracy and penetrating zeal could not be bettered.

Richard Angas's mountainous Mikado in a floppy Jonathan Miller-style white suit and panama hat moves away from his usual rasping style to something more silkily dangerous. Susan Bullock and Jean Rigby make good impressions as Peep-Bo and Pitti-Sing. And above all Eric Idle's Ko-Ko (not badly sung incidentally, despite the competition from pro singers) is a superbly realised creation, bare-faced in its vaudevillian pranks — such as the corkscrew squirm with which he gets his tongue under the Mikado's shoe, after the revelation of Nanki-Poo's royal lineage.

The trouble is that ENO's Mikado lacks pace and energy. The conductor Peter Robinson displays almost no sense of theatrical timing, and in the second act with its roster of not-so-motivated numbers things hang fire terribly. Van Laast's choreography becomes repetitive just when it should be moving into higher gear. And Miller, in the vastnesses of the Coliseum, labours to get lines over at the expense of vitality.

The clash of approaches between Idle and the rest is not exploited to make for much dramatic variation. Worst of all, Lesley Garrett's charmless Yum-Yum is self-conscious, mewling and — as so often — decidedly flat in her singing. If Yum-Yum is not delicious and pleasing, The Mikado becomes rather a drag. That it should never be so was excitingly demonstrated by both The Black Mikado and more recently, Ned Sherrin's Metropolitan Mikado. ENO's public may love the style of Miller's production, but the verdict must be "modified rapture."

Navy Tomcats on a hot tin roof

"IF you two screw up, you'll be flying a cargo ship full of rubber dog shit out of Hong Kong," says an officer to the heroes of Tony Scott's **Top Gun**. The two concerned are pilots of F-14 Tomcats, costing $36 million each and the pride of the US Navy Fighter Weapons School. It is, as you might imagine, a man's world, and it is one of the big hits of the season in the States.

Top Gun is British director Tony Scott's second film — his first was the fairly dire The Hunger — and the change is amazing. It is not quite so astonishing, however, when you think of his previous experience making commercials. This is, above all else, an advertisement for the current American dream, as set out by President Reagan and orchestrated by a Hollywood that's at least still capable of icily efficient dream-fodder.

The film looks extremely swish as it goes through its motions of describing the tribulations of the young aces being trained to defend the West against the Communist peril. Its aerial photography is sometimes superb, its portrait of a military machine determined to be the best, officered by unambiguous zealots, is simplistic in the extreme but highly efficient, and its "human factor" allows for every adolescent fantasy in the book.

Machines of death glisten in the sky and their occupants, constantly stripped in the shower rooms, seem like perfect specimens of gilded, audacious youth. This is a picture that never lets up, as if its arguments could not possibly be denied. Discipline yourself, believe in the cause and you too could be like this. And if you're a woman, you could marry one of them.

The stars are Tom Cruise as "Maverick," a pilot who dices with death in the effort to beat the memory of a father who might have been better than him but who died mysteriously; and Kelly McGillis as the girl who loves him, an astrophysicist-cum-instructor who is not just a pretty face but a less neurotic toughie than he.

Somehow or another, Maverick has to be made part of a highly-trained team. Otherwise, Val Kilmer's "Iceman" will become Top Gun of the outfit, and we won't have a story at all. Iceman looks pretty good in the shower himself, but Maverick is the real sexual symbol — a God among men, trying to exorcise the devil in him.

Top Gun is a deeply depressing movie the moment you begin to think about it. But, if you don't, lines like "Your ego is signing cheques your body can't cash", will possibly suffice. So will the story of

CINEMA by Derek Malcolm

guts and gumption finally rewarded. And no one could question the sheer professionalism of the story-telling.

Top Gun may be a deeply reactionary movie and totally absurd as a commentary on human nature. But my guess is that it will run and run, being less complicated than The Right Stuff and right on the ball as a soap opera with wings.

"You can be my wingman anytime," says an admiring pilot of Maverick in the end. Nobody, but nobody, would want to say that to any of the male characters in Mike Newell's The Good Father. They are the typical products of the degenerate half of the Western Alliance — dissatisfied, middle-aged and dumbly kicking against lives that have turned sour. Bottom Gun, in fact.

The example we inspect most closely in Christopher Hampton's adaptation of Peter Prince's novel is Bill, rumpled and furious — a beast from another era out to get the wife who has left him and so destroyed his relationship with his boy. The rage within this child of the sixties reduces him to seek revenge through the agency of Roger, also separated from his wife and mortified to learn that she is off to Australia with the kids.

If he can persuade Roger to take legal action to ruin this move, by whatever insensate means, he can pour salve over his own bruised psyche. I would not be surprised if some hated this movie because it is so heavily orientated towards male disaffection, pushing its women almost out of the frame on occasions. But I think they would be wrong, just on the premise that you ought to get to know your enemy in the battle of the sexes. In that respect, this well-written and superbly acted film is frequently spot-on.

Anthony Hopkins as Bill could hardly be better. He gnaws through his part like a vulture devouring a dead body, and gives no one any sign that he is playing anything but a highly intelligent idiot. But Jim Broadbent's Roger is pretty good too — a nice guy whom fate and his own insufficiencies have dealt some genuinely cruel blows. And there is a splendid cameo from Simon Callow as the vile lawyer who stamps on Roger's long-suffering wife in order to win a battle that should never have been joined in the first place.

The outlook of The Good Father is indelibly middle-class and defineably south London. But if you can get over that, it's as expert as Top Gun in its way, and the sort of thing the British do better than anyone else. Those fashionably sexy bodies in the American picture's showers are made to seem wonderfully ridiculous by the sight of Hopkins gingerly undressing himself at the bidding of the young girl who seduces him in The Good Father. This is real life of a sort, bitingly askew.

BOOKS

Churchill on the attack

By Asa Briggs

ROAD TO VICTORY, by Martin Gilbert (Heinemann, £20).

THERE are many nuggets in this massive and magnificent seventh volume of Martin Gilbert's biography of Churchill. What is most impressive about it, however, is its range. Like the Second World War itself, this is a biography with many fronts: the well chosen titles of many of the 69 chapters proclaim it.

The scene is always changing, and if there is less about domestic matters than about the war itself this is because Churchill was for the most part interested only in winning the war. As Clementine Churchill told Diana Cooper at Marrakesh in 1944, "I think Winston will die when it's over . . . we're putting all we have into this war, and it will take all we have."

Like many other of the nuggets, this comment has already been published. Very frequently, indeed, Gilbert uses comments from published diaries and autobiographies for his punch lines. They play much the same part in the biography as decoded Enigma messages did in the war itself. Yet, as in previous volumes, Gilbert has made the most of Churchill's voluminous private papers, supplementing them with unpublished private diaries and letters from members of his war secretariat. The latter he solicited in an appeal on Desert Island Discs.

Unlike Roosevelt, Churchill was preoccupied with strategy and, like Stalin, he firmly believed that "wars are not won with plans." "War is a constant struggle," he wrote in 1941, "and it is only with some difficulty and within limits that provision can be made for the future." He was always impatient with "mischief-makers and sowers of tares" who hindered "the great machines rolling into battle." "All our operations are being spoiled by overloading and playing for safety," he wrote in March 1943: "improvise and dare," he told General Maitland Wilson later in the same year.

The navy not surprisingly figured prominently in his thinking, particularly during the alarming U-boat successes of that year which were made possible by the failure, soon happily overcome, to "decrypt" a new German naval Enigma, but it was on military matters — and bombing, where he was in complete agreement with Stalin — that Churchill had most ideas. He greatly enjoyed his visits to the different war zones." Instead of sitting at home waiting for news from the front," he wrote characteristically of his journey to Egypt in 1942, "I could send it myself."

The fact that the war became a coalition war with America's entry *into* it after Pearl Harbor was a guarantee of victory for Churchill, but there were to be as many arguments about strategy with Americans as there were with the Russians. Military coalition was more testing than political coalition. The long argument with the Americans about "Anvil," the south of France landing, later called "Dragoon," rightly receives as much attention in this volume as the earlier argument with the Russians about the Second Front. So, too, does Churchill's relationship with Eisenhower, now under review across the Atlantic.

Yet there were often sharp differences behind the scenes in Britain itself. Brooke, often quoted, complained of Churchill's "frightening impatience to get an attack launched," which he described as his "regular disease," while Churchill himself complained just as sharply of the Chief of Staff system leading to "weak and faltering decisions — or rather indecisions."

Most of the discussion of such themes in the biography will be familiar to historians of the war, but there is much that is new in the sections of the book dealing with foreign policy. There is a brilliant chapter on Churchill's first meeting with Stalin in August 1942 when he met "the ogre in his den," and it is fascinating thereafter to trace changes in their relationship.

Poland and Greece are major preoccupations, but there is much that is new about Tito also and even more about de Gaulle. "He might be Stalin with 200 divisions behind his words," he said of the latter in 1943, a relatively mild remark when compared with statements he made about him and his "trail of Anglophobia" in a secret session of the House of Commons in 1942.

For anyone involved in the continuing debate about just what happened in particular cases and the extent to which political motivations influenced Churchill's — or Stalin's — strategy this biography is essential reading. So it is also in relation to the debate about what happened after the war. "There is not much comfort in looking into a future where you and the countries you dominate, plus the Communist Parties in many other states are all drawn up on one side, and those who rally to the English speaking nations and their associates . . . are on the other," Churchill telegrammed Stalin in August 1945. "It is quite obvious that their quarrel will tear the world to pieces."

The year of victory had begun, as Colville has reported, with Churchill sending a greetings message to a correspondent with best wishes for this "new and disgusting year." There was more than irony there. As Gilbert notes on his penultimate page, as the German war came to an end, the breach with the Soviet Union was almost complete.

Whatever the circumstances, what comes out clearly throughout this volume is the richness and exuberance of Churchill's personality. He had his moods just as he had his problems, but there was never any failure of nerve or spirit. Political leaders are rare, but Churchill was always far more than a political leader.

Peculiar London

By Alan Brien

LONDONERS, by Nicholas Shakespeare (Sidgwick & Jackson, £8.95; cloth £12.95).
MAYFAIR: A SOCIAL HISTORY, by Carol Kennedy (Hutchinson, £12.95).

THE caller insisted the Directory Inquiries operator spelled out the long Greek name — "She said, 'Are you sure that's right?' Yes, I said. Why? 'Well,' she said, 'I must know exactly because I'm about to have it tattooed on my arm'."

Wapping has the oldest police station in the world, set up in 1798. London has 18,421 taxi drivers and 8,000 of them live around Gant's Hill.

Men in nightclubs often complain their wives are too intelligent and requisition the most cheerful, stupid hostess on the premises. Gavin Stamp, architectural historian, occupies an entire house but to deter burglars keeps six bell pushes on the door frame.

"Everybody thinks their milk is fresh on the doorstep," said the milkman, "but it could be up to a week old."

A random selection of one-liners garnered from Nicholas Shakespeare's eminently browsable Londoners. Most of the text, however, consists of longthier interviews, profiles and outings as he tracks down and nets every kind of metropolitan type the most dedicated London perambulator could imagine plus quite a few Dickens could not have invented. No amount of tedium, discomfort, embarrassment, rudeness or even danger prevents him from visiting their unnatural habitat and filling his notebook with quotable quotes.

The device is not new but none of the many who have followed in the wake of the great Henry Mayhew has come so near to equalling him. Stockbroker, murderer, call girl, ratcatcher, rag-and-bone man, spy, waiter, cab driver, wig-maker, madman — his 200 genuine peculiars stand up on the pages like figures in a pop-up volume. I can almost forgive him for not insisting on an index, a grave flaw in a work that rightly aspires to scholarship as well as entertainment.

Carol Kennedy's Mayfair is subtitled "A Social History" though it might be more accurate to have called it "A Socialite History". In Mayfair, the difference is anyway minimal.

Most of the early decades in the story have been often described, and it is not a book that is very rewarding read attentively line by line. Better judicious skipping until you come across such as the surveyor's report on Florence Nightingale's house at 10 South Street. She had taken to her bed here in 1865 and remained in it until her death in 1910. The Grosvenor Estate minutes note that the house was far below the standards of sanitation and hygiene she had pioneered in the Crimea — bad drainage, inadequate lavatories, and no bathroom.

Our own Voltayer

By Douglas Johnson

VOLTAIRE, by A. J. Ayer (Weidenfeld, £14.95).

IN THE 1740s a clandestine manuscript circulated in Paris which sought to define what a philosopher was. It said that he should be a man who had freed himself from the prejudices imposed by religion, who is governed by reason as Christians are governed by grace, whose principles are based on observation, who studies the universe without believing that he will discover all its secrets and who achieves probity because he follows reason.

In the eighteenth century it is Voltaire who most clearly follows these precepts; today, in England, it seems to be A. J. Ayer who fits the picture. There is a resemblance too between the short quick-fire sentences of Voltaire's style and the rapid and incisive sentences of Ayer's lectures. What could be more appropriate than that Ayer should write on Voltaire? (It's probably not true that the publishers considered calling the book "Voltayer").

The starting point is the fact that whereas everyone knows of Voltaire, whose reputation has remained considerable for more than two centuries, few people read him. His epic and dramatic poetry, which was admired well into the romantic period by such people as Byron, is now forgotten.

The wide-ranging historical works are neglected, as are his forays into science and mathematics. His championing of causes in the name of justice is remembered only in the most general way. Thus with the exception of the *contes*, especially *Candide*, Voltaire is revered and unread.

Professor Ayer has made what he calls a not exhaustive but serious attempt to repair this deficiency. Wisely avoiding the textual and bibliographical forests which swallow up most Voltaire scholars he has presented us with a brief biography and then an examination of several themes.

It is only to be expected that Ayer does not simply present Voltaire's views. He discusses them, sometimes as if he were discussing them in Voltaire's presence. Thus Voltaire commenting on Pascal is followed by Ayer commenting upon both ("Voltaire mistakes a scientific for a philosophical question," "Both Pascal and Voltaire go astray here"), and his deism is subjected to a particularly close scrutiny ("I interrupt Voltaire at this point to remark that his reasoning here has gone astray," "I own that unlike Voltaire, I am not entirely convinced by Locke.")

But while deploring his attitude to the Jews, finding his constant attacks on Christianity tedious, and regretting his deism, Ayer clearly admires Voltaire's acumen, honesty and courage. He quotes from *Micromegas*, the story of the two giants who visit the earth and who falsely suppose that human beings spend their lives in love and thought, since these consititute the true life of the spirit and the only genuine source of happiness. "Here," writes Ayer, "I believe that Voltaire was speaking for himself."

CRISPA

ACROSS

1. There's many a shipwreck caused by accident (6)
4. Make up for disappointing spread (6)
9. Fancy a little hide-away (4)
10. The craftsman's son's mate — no use (10)
11. Not an exotic plant (6)
12. Musical instruments still kept in bags (8)
13. Day-dream possibly about a point prepared (4, 5)
15. Look on the pound as an animal refuge (4)
16. Opt for a non-electric tool (4)
17. Leading coppers falling back (9)
21. Let up maybe before a worker gets cantankerous (8)
22. Last railway uniform (6)
24. Up and down they go endlessly (10)
25. Backing friends, makes a hit (4)
26. Become more intense as a letter writer (6)
27. Fed by the hotel, as is natural (6)

DOWN

1. Island forced to join a revolutionary organisation (7)
2. Having little science, a politician *can appear a rogue* (5)
3. Preparing tea — sure to be quite plain (7)
5. Picture a man bound up with business (6)
6. Outstanding swine coming to bad end, and that's right (9)
7. Job a character found in "Pickwick Papers" (7)
8. Reason against the team taking a fixed amount (13)
14. Cure no age problem but offer support (9)
16. A top journalist under strain (7)
18. Visits give a boy a name! (5, 2)
19. Report a ranter broadcast (7)
20. The staff pop back inside for a savoury morsel (6)
23. A girl in love's tactful (5)

Bridge

By Rixi Markus©

I PLAYED in the pairs championship at the Juan les Pins Festival this year with Stefan Ballan. Here is a hand on which he managed to make all thirteen tricks when the opponents could have cashed two aces.

NORTH
♠ A 7 5
♥ K J 10 5 4
♦ 7 6
♣ J 6 4

WEST
♠ 8 2
♥ Q 9 7
♦ Q 9 4 2
♣ A 10 3 2

EAST
♠ 9
♥ A 6 3 2
♦ 10 5 3
♣ Q 9 8 7 5

SOUTH
♠ K Q J 10 6 4 3
♥ 8
♦ A K J 8
♣ K

Ballan became the declarer in 4S, and West made the passive lead of a trump. Declarer won in hand and led the eight of hearts to dummy's ten, which East ducked after a slight but fatal hesitation. South read the situation well by continuing with the king of hearts and ruffing out East's ace. He then crossed back to dummy with the ace of spades and ruffed a small heart, bringing down West's queen. Dummy's 10-x of hearts were now established, and Ballan was able to cash the ace-king of diamonds, ruff a diamond in dummy and discard his two minor suit losers.

The two extra overtricks which my partner managed to steal proved to be very valuable, and +510 gave us a very good match point score on the board. *He was obviously lucky that* East's studious duck with the ace of hearts gave him the chance to avoid both losers, but nobody can do well in a pairs event without a few lucky breaks.

Another important aspect of pairs play is the need to take risks if the *opponents are threatening to rob you* of your part-score. If the opponents outbid you when you were about to score +120 or +140 in a safe part-score, for example, it will often be essential to double them even if you cannot be absolutely certain that their contract will go down. This is because +100 might prove to be inadequate at pairs scoring, and because to concede -530 if they make their doubled contract may not give you a much worse match-point score than conceding -140 when other pairs are making a part-score on your cards.

Here is an example of this principle from the Juan les Pine pairs.

Dealer West; East-West vulnerable.

NORTH
♠ Q 5 4
♥ Q 2
♦ Q J 9 2
♣ A Q 6 3

WEST
♠ K J 8 7 3 2
♥ K 9
♦ K 3
♣ 9 8 4

EAST
♠ A 10 9
♥ 10 6 4 3
♦ 7 6 4
♣ K J 10

SOUTH
♠ 6
♥ A J 8 7 5
♦ A 10 8 5
♣ 7 5 2

West (Ballan)	North	East (Markus)	South
NB	1D(1)	NB	1H
2S(2)	NB	NB	3D
NB	3H(3)	D'ble(4)	NB
NB	NB		

(1) North-South were playing the Five-Card major system which has become the French national method. The opening bid of 1D is often the equivalent of the British weak no-trump.

(2) Having passed originally, my partner felt entitled to show his good six-card suit.

(3) This was a strange effort by North. His partner was very likely to have four diamonds for his raise of what might have been a three-card suit, and there was no reason not to play in the 4-4 fit.

(4) I was by no means certain that we could defeat 3H, but I knew that +50 or +100 would give us a bad score if we could make +110 in 2S. Our best chance of avoiding a poor match-point score seemed to be to collect +300 from 3H doubled.

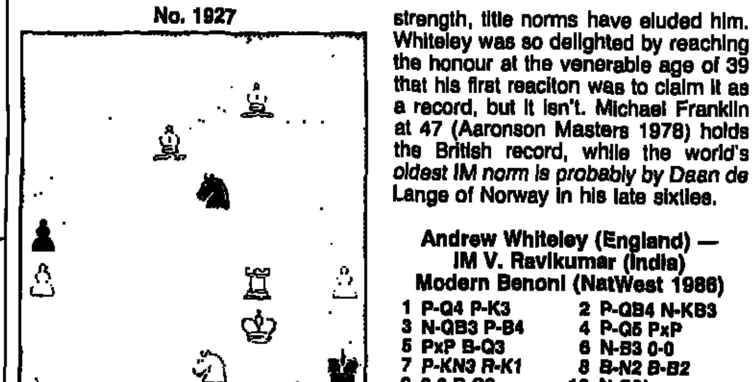
West led the seven of spades, and my nine held the first trick. I continued with the ace of spades, and declarer ruffed and led a small heart towards dummy's queen. My partner went up with the king and switched to a club, and I won with the ten and returned my last spade, ruffed by declarer.

South was beginning to lose control of his hand. He crossed to the queen of hearts and ran the queen of *diamonds, and West won* with the king and returned another spade, allowing me to discard one of my losing diamonds. We eventually managed to restrict declarer to six tricks — four hearts, one diamond and one club — and the penalty of +500 gave us a top on the board. As I had expected, however +300 would have been equally good, while a modest +100 from 3H two off undoubled would have been considerably below average, for those East-West pairs who were permitted to play in spades had scored +140 or +170.

Chess

By Leonard Barden

No. 1927



White mates in three moves at latest, against any defence (by H. Karrer, 1979). White's large material advantage creates the problem here, for 1 BxN? is a draw by stalemate.

Solution No. 1926: White K at KN1, Q at KB2, Rs at QN1 and K1, B at KN2, N at Q1, Ps at QB2, Q3, KN4 and KR3. Black K at QB2, Q at QR7, R at QB1, Bs at Q2 and KR1, N at Q4, Ps at QR2, QB6, Q5, KN3 and KR2. White to win.

1 NxP! PxN (if NxN 2 R-N7 ch K-Q1 3 Q-B8 ch mates) 2 R-R1 and Black soon resigned. If 2 . . . Q-N7 3 KR-N1 traps the queen.

NATWEST'S annual young masters tournament finished, predictably, in a victory for the youngest contestant but also, paradoxically, in a success for the oldest. Leading scores were Pedersen (Denmark) and Norwood 6½/9, Hebden and Whiteley 5½, Rodgaard (Faroes) and Ravikumar (India) 4½.

David Norwood, Britain's youngest IM, has won all three NatWest internationals — jointly in 1984 and 1986, outright in 1985. At the conclusion of Lloyds Bank a few weeks earlier, the normally ebullient Norwood was downcast with his *indifferent result* and gloomily predicted that the selectors would choose 14-year-old Michael Adams (who achieved his second IM norm at Lloyds) instead of himself for the 1987 junior world championship. It's hard being a teenage British IM, but after NatWest Norwood will be back in favour.

As for the oldest competitor, Andrew Whiteley has played in three olympiads and twice been runner-up in the British championship. Though clearly IM strength, title norms have eluded him. Whiteley was so delighted by reaching the honour at the venerable age of 39 that his first reaction was to claim it as a record, but it isn't. Michael Franklin at 47 (Aaronson Masters 1978) holds the British record, while the world's *oldest IM norm is probably by Daan de* Lange of Norway in his late sixties.

Andrew Whiteley (England) — IM V. Ravikumar (India)
Modern Benoni (NatWest 1986)

1 P-Q4 P-K3 — 2 P-QB4 N-KB3
3 N-QB3 P-B4 — 4 P-Q5 PxP
5 PxP B-Q3 — 6 N-B3 0-0
7 P-KN3 R-K1 — 8 B-N2 B-B2
9 0-0 P-Q3 — 10 N-Q2!

In Pavlovic-Hodgson, Lloyds Bank 1986, White met the novelty 5 . . . B-Q3 by the routine plan Q-B2, R-K1 and P-K4 when Black gained active counterplay. Whiteley's thematic choice pressurises the Q-side.

10 . . . P-QR3 — 11 P-QR4 QN-Q2
12 N-B4 N-N3 — 13 N-R3 B-B4
14 P-B3 B-Q2 — 15 P-K4 R-N1

Aiming for P-QN4, Black neglects the other flanks. Here N-B1-K2-K3 is more flexible.

16 R-K1 N-B1 — 17 B-B1 N-R2
18 N-B4 N-B1 — 19 N-R3 P-R3
20 K-R1 R-K2 — 21 P-KN4! Q-K1?

Black's position is difficult but he should try N-KR2 to slow down White's push along the KN file.

22 P-N5 PxP — 23 BxNP B-R4
24 N-B4 Bxn — 25 PxB P-N4
26 PxP PxP — 27 N-Q2 P-B5
28 BxN PxB — 29 P-B4 P-B4
30 BxP! PxB — 31 Q-R5 RxKP

Otherwise White launches a mating attack with R-N1 ch or Q-R6.

32 NxR PxN — 33 R-N1 ch K-B1
34 Q-R7 K-K2 — 35 R-N8 QxR
36 QxQ R-N7 — 37 Q-N5 ch K-K1
38 R-K1 B-R6 — 39 RxP ch K-Q2
40 R-K1 K-B2 — 41 Q-N7 B-N7 ch
42 QxB RxQ — 43 KxR N-N3
44 R-Q1 K-Q2 — 45 R-Q4 Resigns

In an interview given to the British Chess Magazine (£1.30 from 9 Market Street, St Leonards, East Sussex) the refusenik GM Boris Gulko, who has just left the USSR, was asked if he had ever met British opponents. Gulko recalled two games, one in 1985 and the other in the 1966 Student Olympiad. Gulko did not remember the *opponent and was discreet*, about the result: in fact the game was in 1967, the opponent was Whiteley, and the result was part of a dramatic 3-1 English victory, our first against the USSR at national level. Whiteley's favourite Slav nets a vital pawn, and there is an odd moment at the end.

Boris Gulko (USSR) — Andrew Whiteley (England)
***Queen's Gambit*, Slav**
(Harrochov 1967)

1 P-Q4 P-Q4 — 2 P-QB4 P-QB3
3 N-KB3 N-B3 — 4 N-B3 P-K3
5 B-N5 PxP — 6 P-K3 P-QN4
7 P-QR4 B-N5 — 8 N-Q2 B-N2
9 PxP BxN — 10 PxB PxP
11 Q-N1 P-QR3 — 12 P-K4 Q-B2
13 B-K2 0-0 — 14 0-0 N-B2
15 Q-B2 K-R1 — 16 QR-Q1 QR-B1
17 P-K5 N-Q4 — 18 N-K4 P-R3
19 B-B1 P-N5! — 20 BxBP N(3)-K2
21 BxN NxB — 22 N-B6 NxN
23 PxN QxBP — 24 Q-K2 Q-B7
25 PxP ch KxP — 26 BxP ch KxB
27 Q-K3 ch K-N2 — 28 R-Q3 R-KN1!

Faced with material defeat on the Q-side, White has been forced to try a sacrificial blitz on the king which Whiteley defends coolly.

29 R-K1 K-B1 — 30 P-Q5 R-N3
31 Q-R3 BxP! — 32 Resigns

Why? At first glance White can now play 32 RxB PxR 33 Q-R8 ch with perpetual check, but the answer is 32 . . . RxB Q-B6! 33 QxQ PxQ when Black's passed pawns win the rook ending.

HORSE RACING: Richard Baerlein reports on a record-breaking Prix de l'Arc de Triomphe

Breathtaking Brave

KHALID ABDULLA'S Dancing Brave on Sunday put up the most courageous and *brilliant* performance ever seen in the Trusthouse Forte Arc de Triomphe at Longchamp to establish himself as one of the great horses of the century.

Even the great Sea Bird did not beat a stronger field than this one which included the English, French and Irish Derby winners, Shardari, the best four-year-old in Europe, the Prix Vermielle winner Darara, and the German horse Acatenango, unbeaten in 12 consecutive races.

It was the second year running Khalid Abdulla and Eddery have won France's most prestigious race, but Dancing Brave is in quite another class to last year's winner, Rainbow Quest, as Eddery has been quick to point out.

He took his mount to the wide outside of the field so that there was no chance of any interference.

Never has a jockey ridden a cooler, patient or more confident race, for all the time he was waiting behind he said he was never in any real danger of defeat.

As they swept down to the two-furlong marker Gary Moore made his challenge on the French Derby winner, Bering, and quickly took over from the Aga Khan's trio, Shastrani, Shardari and Darara, who were almost in line.

No sooner had he done so than Eddery made his swoop on Dancing Bravo and the acceleration of his mount was positively outstanding.

Taking the lead about 100 yards out he was going away at double the speed of Bering. The time of 2 minutes 27.7 seconds was a record for the race and he finished 1½ lengths in front of Bering.

Half-a-length back in third the evergreen Triptych, who never *runs a bad race, kept the Derby* winner Shahrastani out of third place by a short-head. Then there was a neck back to Shardari, with Darara sixth.

Though none of the Aga Khan's horses could gain a place, his trio ran with great credit and were well in contention until the final furlong.

In seventh place came the German horse, Acatenango, who had run a great race throughout, with Steve Cauthen having a clear run on the far rails.

The betting took an unexpected turn, probably owing to the firmish ground. The French turfites did not, as is their wont, support their own soft ground specialist, Bering, although it had been claimed he was an outstanding champion.

Instead they joined with the English to plunge on Dancing Brave, who returned the rather disappointing price of 11-10. Before Eddery was announced as the rider a fortnight ago, Dancing Brave was quoted at 7-2 and he gradually hardened as the news *came from France that the ground* was gradually drying up.

Alec Head, who manages the runner-up, Bering, said: "We were beaten by the better horse on the day, and could have done with better ground." Bering's jockey, Gary Moore, added: "No excuses, but Bering was gallant in defeat."

Eddery said: "I have ridden some good horses, including Derby winners, but this was terrific, something quite out of the ordinary."

Dancing Brave has now won just under £800,000, a record for an English trained three-year-old. He will now go for the Breeders' Cup over 1½ miles on grass at Santa Anita on November 1 when he can double his present winnings.

Eddery won that race last year on Pebbles and will have no trouble on the cramped course because his mount, like Pebbles, has such tremendous speed.

PRIX DE L'ARC DE TRIOMPHE (1½ miles): 1, Dancing Brave (Pat Eddery); 2, Bering (G. W. Moore); 3, Triptych (A. Cordero); 4, Shahrastani (W. R. Swinburn). Winning trainer: G. Harwood 2m 27.7s (new race record). Pari-mutuel (one franc stake): 2.10, 1.90, 1.50, 6.00. DF: 4.60.

GOLF: David Davies at the World Matchplay championships at Wentworth

Norman too strong for Lyle

SANDY LYLE went to the well twice this week in the Suntory World Matchplay championship at Wentworth. When he tried it a third time, in Sunday's final, it had run dry. The inspiration that had blessed his matches against Tommy Nakajima and Howard Clark, and made this such a memorable year for him, had flown.

Lyle lost to Greg Norman by 2 and 1, giving the Australian his third Matchplay title and Lyle his third losing final. It was, in truth, an understated grey day, both in terms of weather and of play: Lyle took 39, four over par, for the first nine of the 36 holes and predictably was five down. He went six down after 11, and after that there were no margins.

For Lyle to beat a player of Norman's quality, in the kind of year that the Australian is having, the luck would have to go all one way — for Lyle, against Norman. What luck there was to it now *went mainly Norman's way.*

This was probably the first Suntory final to be won by a man wearing a pink, yellow and turquoise sweater. If Norman keeps up his threat never to return to the Matchplay, it could well be the last too. Norman is nothing if not confident, both in outlook and his approach to the game, and he seemed totally unsurprised when Lyle handed him that six-up start. He has spent most of the year six up on someone or other, and it was clear that the prospect of adding another $75,000 to the $1 million he has won already did not frighten him.

Lyle did come back at him over the closing holes of the morning round. On the 17th green he was even forced by the seriousness of the situation to abandoon his usual left-hand-on-left-knee, token abeisance-to-the-ball lining-up *routine. He went into a full squat,* and holed a 10-footer to get back to three down.

Then, more normally, he missed a putt from four feet on the 18th that would have sent him into lunch two down.

Immediately after that the golfing deities gave a clear indication of how the game was to go. Lyle hit two fine shots to 15 feet at the first, while Norman bunkered his second shot. But, instead of going back to two up, the Australian went four up by holing the sand *shot. Sickeners come in many* shapes and sizes, but those at the 18th and 19th were brand leaders.

Lyle did manage to get a couple of holes back, but the golf was scrappy in general. There were, however, echoes of earlier rounds with the shots to the pin at the ninth. Lyle hit to six feet, Norman to five feet nine inches — but, typically on this day, both were either iron thirds at this par-four hole. Lyle missed, Norman holed. Three up, nine to play.

Once again Lyle managed to get a couple back, holing a five-footer at the 15th and a 12-footer for a *birdie at the 16th. Faint hopes* began to glimmer: one down and two to play is hardly a dire position.

A moment later, however, it was. Forced into taking a driver off the 17th tee, it betrayed him once again by hurtling into the trees on the left, out of bounds. Norman played safely down the right, and minutes later had the £50,000 cheque secured.

In the play-off for third and fourth places Jack Nicklaus beat Australia's Rodger David 2 and 1 with an eagle at the 17th, where on the previous day Norman had sunk a 60ft putt for an eagle to beat Nicklaus.

It had been a rare return to match play for Nicklaus, in the *year of his US Masters' triumph.* He has been talking of semi-retirement from the grind of tournament golf. In his opening match he had to beat the precocious talent of Spain's Jose-Maria Olazabal, who has won more than £100,000 in his first year as a professional, 5 and 4.

• Greg Norman said immediately after his triumph in Sunday's Suntory World Matchplay final that he would not be coming back to defend his title.

The Australian, visibly upset during the course of the round, claimed that his bad shots had *been clapped; that a group of* spectators had said loudly that they were glad he had missed a putt.

"There's been bad feeling creeping into the game for some time," he said, "but today it was blatant. I told my wife Laura when I'd finished that I felt I'd won a battle, not a tournament."

SOCCER RESULTS

TODAY LEAGUE, FIRST DIVISION: Chelsea 0, Charlton 1; Coventry 0, Aston Villa 1; Everton 0, Arsenal 1, Manchester City 1, Leicester 2, Norwich 1, QPR 0; Nottingham Forest 1, Manchester United 1; Sheffield Wed 6, Oxford United 1; Southampton 4, Newcastle 1; Tottenham 0, Luton 0; Watford 2, West Ham 2; Wimbledon 1, Liverpool 3.

SECOND DIVISION: Birmingham 1, Barnsley 1; Bradford 1, Sheffield United 1; Brighton 1, Stoke 0, Crystal Palace 2, Millwall 1, Huddersfield 2, Derby 0, Hull 2, Ipswich 1, Plymouth 1, Leeds 1; Reading 4, Blackburn 0, Shrewsbury 4, Grimsby 1, Sunderland 0, Portsmouth 0, West Bromwich 2, Oldham 0

THIRD DIVISION: Blackpool 1, Walsall 1; Bolton 1, Notts County 1; Brentford 2, Newport 0; Bristol Rovers 3, Chesterfield 2; Chester 0, Bristol City 3; *Darlington 0, Bournemouth 3; Doncaster v Carlisle* postponed; Gillingham 1, Bury 0; Port Vale 0, Fulham 1; Rotherham 1, Middlesbrough 4; York 1, Mansfield 3. Played Sunday: Swindon 3, Wigan 1.

FOURTH DIVISION: Burnley 1, Preston 4; Cardiff 1, Crewe 1; Halifax 1, Swansea 0; Hereford 2, Peterborough 0; Northampton 4, Aldershot 2, Orient 1, Southend 0; Rochdale 0, Exeter 0. Played Friday: Cambridge 5, Stockport 0; Colchester 2, Wrexham 1; Tranmere 2, Torquay 2. Played Sunday: Lincoln 1, Hartlepool 4; Scunthorpe 0, Wolves 2

FINE FARE SCOTTISH LEAGUE, PREMIER DIVISION: Aberdeen 2, Motherwell 2, Celtic 2, St Mirren 0; Clydebank 0, Dundee 2; Dundee United 2, Falkirk 0; Hamilton 1, Hibernian 4; Hearts 1, Rangers 1

FIRST DIVISION: Airdrie 1, Queen of South 3. Clyde 1, Morton 2; Dumbarton 2, Partick 2; Forfar 3, Dunfermline 3, Kilmarnock 1, East Fife 1; Montrose 0, Brechin 2.

***SECOND DIVISION:** Albion 2, Berwick 0, Alloa 2,* Queens Park 1; Arbroath 0, East Stirling 0; Cowdenbeath 0, Meadowbank 2; St Johnstone 0, Stranraer 3; Stenhousemuir 1, Raith 2; Stirling 0, Ayr 1.

Welsh rugby sends a clear message to the game's rowdies

Alan Dunn's DIARY

WELSH RUGBY UNION sent a clear and severe message to clubs and players last week over foul play when they banned the Pontypool international scrum half, David Bishop, from play for the rest of the season. Bishop, aged 25, is barred from playing until August 31 next year, a period *which includes the first World Cup* series, to be played in Australia and New Zealand and for which Bishop might normally have expected to be selected.

The ban follows Bishop being gaoled for a month for assault on an opposing player during a club match, a sentence that was suspended on appeal. But the Welsh Rugby Union said that their decision was based not on the offence, to which Bishop had pleaded guilty, but on his initial denial of being involved. He had conducted himself in a manner prejudicial to the interests of the union and the game, said the union.

Bishop's response was an angry "if everyone involved in a punch-up on a rugby field was reported for common assault, the country's gaols would be full of rugby players." He said that the ban, against which there is no appeal, was a travesty. He would consider legal redress. "I am determined not to take this lying down," he said in an unfortunate turn of phrase, for the man he was guilty of assaulting, Newbridge forward Chris Jarman, was lying pinned by another player when Bishop hit him.

Bishop's club was seen by many observers as coming out of the incident badly, too. The Welsh Union had felt forced to act because Pontypool had ignored calls for disciplinary action.

Japan's touring rugby players began their stint in England last week by losing 33-22 to Leicestershire in the county's centenary match. The Japanese party paid the *penalty for fielding many* second string players but again gave enjoyment through their handling and passing. At the weekend they had their second win of the tour in beating Cornwall 36-15, again featuring their running. Canada, meanwhile, ended their four match tour of Ireland by sharing their match with Connacht 27-27.

Harlequins, a London rugby club, are poised to enliven the domestic scene by signing two New Zealand All Blacks players. Dave Loveridge and Stu Wilson, who have both recently retired from *international rugby, are expected* to join forces in the club's first team after initial training outings with secondary teams.

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ENGLISH SOCCER, still finding its sporting image dragged down by hooligan spectators, at last had something to smile about last week. Today, the daily newspaper created earlier this year, has decided to sponsor the League for the next two years to the tune of £4 million, with an option for a third year. The League have been without a sponsor since Cannon decided last season not to renew their contract. The delay had been partly blamed on the talks to extend television contracts and the pre-season wrangling over the next stage of League development. The new deal could be good for both parties; Today is in the process of a re-launch after its birth last March, as the first of the new *breed of new technology* newspapers, had been less than successful.

But English soccer is still missing the extra lure and cash of European competition. Last week Scottish and Welsh clubs took part in the closing leg of the first round with fair success, only Aberdeen and Hearts of the major clubs failing. Glasgow Celtic completed victory over Shamrock Rovers 2-0 (3-0 on aggregate) in the European Cup, while Wrexham beat Malta's Zurrieq 4-0 (7-0) in the Cup Winners' Cup. In the UEFA Cup, Dundee United beat Racing Club Lens 2-0 (2-1), while Glasgow *Rangers lost 2-0 at Tampere of* Finland but went through 4-2 on aggregate. Aberdeen, whose goalkeeper, Leighton, scored an own goal after five minutes of their Cup Winners' match against Sion of Switzerland, went down 3-0 (4-2), while Hearts were beaten 1-0 by Dukla Prague for an aggregate of 3-3, which gave Dukla the tie on the away goals rule.

In the next round, Celtic have drawn Dynamo Kiev, whose players formed the bulk of the Soviet team at the World Cup during the summer. In the UEFA Cup, Rangers will meet Boavista of Portugal, while Dundee *United face* Universitatea Craiova of Romania. In the Cup Winners' Cup, Wrexham meet *Real Zaragoza.*

At home there were no dramatic changes in the order of events, although Manchester United could be said by their most loyal supporters to have turned the tide by drawing 1-1 at the First Division leaders, Nottingham Forest, in England. United still have only one win from their opening nine games and are second bottom in the division above the new bottom club, Newcastle United, on goal difference. For the city of Manchester it has been an extraordinarily poor start to the season, for rival Manchester City are fourth from the bottom with seven points from their nine games. Wimbledon, who in their opening matches in their first season at the highest level took the game by surprise in going to the top, are beginning to settle to a more realistic level at mid-table. They lost at home at the weekend to Liverpool, 3-1, but gave to the match a spirited challenge that often disconcerted the champions. Rush scored twice for Liverpool on the way to overtake the club scoring record of 115 goals held by the player-manager, Dalglish. Scotland's European winners stayed in the mood at the weekend, Dundee United beating Falkirk 2-0 to stay at the top of the Premier Division by a point from Glasgow Celtic, who beat St Mirren 2-0.

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HOCKEY at the highest level came to Britain last week with the opening stages of the World Cup tournament among the 12 leading nations. And it couldn't have been a better start for England and Argentina in Pool A of the qualifying stages. England beat New Zealand 3-1, while the Argentines beat the highly rated Pakistanis by the same score. The two pools of six teams will eventually produce two teams each for the semi-final stages with many observers seeing this competition as the most open ever.

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GRAND PRIX motor sport is to phase out turbo-charged engines in the interests of cost and safety. FISA, the world governing body, said at the weekend that they would be phased out over two years in favour of the less powerful normally-aspirated engines of 3.5 litres, which will become obligatory in 1989. In the meantime, turbo engines, which power nearly all cars in Formula One at the moment, will be allowed to continue with separate awards for each category.

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BARRY McGUIGAN, so recently the highly popular Irish world featherweight boxing champion, last week issued a writ seeking an end to his relationship with his manager, Barney Eastwood. McGuigan lost his title in the heat of Las Vegas to Steve Cruz last June, since when relations *between the fighter and manager* have deteriorated.